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## I.—THE SATURNIAN METRE.

### FIRST PAPER.

The appearance in this year (1892) of two treatises on the Saturnian Metre—one by Reichardt, in the *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* (Suppl.), XIX, declaring it to be quantitative; the other by Westphal, in his *Allgemeine Metrik*, taking for granted its accentual nature—seems to indicate that this much-debated question is as far from settlement as ever. Nor can this surprise any one who has examined the arguments used by the rival theorists, so little agreement is there about the most elementary facts. The Quantitative party, on the one hand, scan the Saturnian lines with some quantities, e. g. *Lucium, itaque*, which the others refuse to admit; the Accentual party, on the other, operate with accentuations like *primarium* (with secondary accent on first, main accent on second syllable), *plériqu(e) omnes*, which equally fail to command universal acceptance. And yet, if we reflect that the writers of these Saturnian lines, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and the rest, have left behind as many lines in other metres (iambic, trochaic, etc.), the laws of which we do know, and the quantity, perhaps even the accentuation, of whose words we can easily determine, it seems strange that there should be room for disagreement on these simple facts of early prosody. We can hardly suppose a writer to have given the same words, when used in Saturnian lines, an entirely different quantity and accent from their quantity and accent in his other metrical compositions, or in the poems of contemporary writers. No doubt there is such a thing in the poetry of all nations as the use, occasional or constant, of artificial pronunciations, of which our pro-

nunciation of the noun 'wind' in poetry, so as to rhyme with 'find,' is a good example; but a still better, the recognition in contemporary French poetry of the 'e muet' which ceased to be pronounced in ordinary conversation as far back as the 16th or 17th century. Similarly Irish poets of the Middle Irish period allow an aspirated letter (say *th*) to alliterate with the unaspirated form (*t*), herein imitating, as we may judge, the practice of the older writers of a period when the aspiration of the letter *t* had not come into vogue; and in later Greek epics the digamma seems to be recalled to life. But though this practice may have prevailed to a limited extent in Saturnian versification, this cannot disprove the self-evident proposition that the prosody of words in Saturnians must be, in the main, the same as that of the same words in contemporary iambic, trochaic and hexameter lines, even though we make the additional reservation that the dialogue verses of the drama (both comedy and tragedy) must have more closely reflected the ordinary usage of everyday speech than verses of more elevated species of composition, by which I mean as well Saturnian as Dactylic verses, when either metre was used for epic poetry, epitaphs, or dedicatory inscriptions. One example of this difference will suffice. A short vowel in the prosody of the dramatists is not lengthened by 'position' before a mute and liquid, e. g. *lūcro, pātri*, never *lūcro, pātri*, though we can see that the syllable was treated as something more than a mere short syllable, from the fact that, in such words, the final long vowel was never shortened by the 'brevis brevians' law, e. g. never *lucrō, patri*, like *putō, pati* (Journ. Phil. XXI). In other than dramatic poetry, however, the lengthening is allowed, e. g. *sācrificare*, Ennius, Ann. 233 M., a lengthening which the shifting of the accent to the second syllable in Vulgar Latin forms of words like *tenebrae* (Span. *tinieblas*, etc., point to Vulg. Lat. *tenēbrae*) shows to have been a feature of Latin phonetics, and not a mere imitation of the Greek usage. If allowed in the dactylic epic of Ennius, it would probably be allowed in Saturnian poetry also. (See below on v. 100 *integram*.)

The quantity of the words which occur in the extant Saturnian lines can easily be fixed by reference to the dramas of Plautus and Terence, not to speak of the fragments of Early Latin poetry preserved for us by Nonius Marcellus and other grammarians. Can we say as much for the accentuation of these words? I think we can. Recent investigation has not merely confirmed Ritschl's

famous thesis that the quantitative metre of Plautus and Terence showed a great regard for the accentuation of words (*cum quantitatē severitate summa accentus observationem, quoad ejus fieri posset, conciliatam esse*), but has gone far to prove that the metrical ictus, or 'beats,' of dramatic lines coincide more closely with the ordinary accentuation of the Latin sentence than even Ritschl himself contemplated. Plautus and Terence never allow a metrical ictus like *genēra*, Terence never one like *pectōra* (Plautus allows this only seldom, and under definite conditions); both writers, when they let a spondee take the place of an iambus or a trochee in those feet of iambic or trochaic lines from which spondees are excluded by the Greek comedians,<sup>1</sup> never permit the metrical ictus of such a spondee to clash with the natural accent of the word, allowing, for example, a line like

uin cōmmūtēmus? túam ego ducam et tú meam?

but not a line like

uin cōmmutēm? uin túam ego ducam et tú meam?

Their regard for what is called the sentence-accent, the subordination of unimportant, or enclitic, to the accented words of the sentence, is shown partly by the fact, to which Ritschl called attention, that the minor words of the sentence, the words we omit nowadays in writing telegrams, lack, as a rule, the metrical ictus. I indicate them by italics in this example:

rogat  
ut liceat possidēre *hanc* nomen fábulam,

where the omission of *ut, hanc* from the line would cause no injury to the sense. It is shown also by the persistent use of certain common phrases of everyday life with the same metrical ictus, e. g. *volūptās mea* (here the shortening also of the second syllable indicates that the ordinary accent of this word-group fell on the last syllable of *voluptas*), *volō scire* (never *volō scire*) *vae misero mihi* (not *vae misero mihi*), where the metrical ictus follows what one would naturally imagine the accentuation to be with subordination, or enclisis, of possessive pronoun, auxiliary verb and personal pronoun. The subordination of the personal pronoun to the preposition, seen in so many languages, e. g. Greek *πρὸς με*, English 'with him, for him,' and especially in Old Irish, where it has reduced the pronouns to mere suffixes, e. g. *for-m* 'on me,'

<sup>1</sup> And probably in other feet too. (See Skutsch, *Forschungen zur Lateinischen Grammatik und Metrik*, I, p. 156.)

*for-t* 'on thee,' is also reflected in Latin dramatic metre, where the preposition invariably has the ictus when preceding a monosyllabic unemphatic personal pronoun (invariably, unless the pronoun is elided), e. g. *in me, in te, apud me, apud vos, inter se*. And in general we find the rules of accentuation and enclisis which are laid down by the grammarians of the Empire, as well as those rules which the analogy of other languages, and the phonetic changes of Latin words in the Romance tongues, entitle us to infer for Latin, reflected in a singularly faithful manner in the metrical cadence of Plautus' lines. The accentuation, for example, of interrogative *unde* as contrasted with the unstressed relative *unde*, a distinction frequently mentioned by the grammarians, and found in all languages, gives evidence of itself in Plautine versification, where *unde* interrog. normally receives the verse-ictus, while *unde* relative is relegated to the thesis (see instances in Skutsch, Forsch. I, pp. 64 sqq.); and facts like these may fairly be taken as evidence, if evidence be required, that the words which occupied a subordinate position in the Latin sentence of the Imperial Age were subordinate also in the time of the Early Literature.

If this regard for the natural accentuation of the word be admitted to exist in the versification of Plautus and Terence<sup>1</sup> (and I fancy its existence is pretty generally accepted, the only divergence of opinion being on the extent to which it was allowed to prevail), it ought to be possible to determine by reference to these dramatists, not only the quantity of the second syllable of a word like *itāque*, which many supporters of the quantitative theory of Saturnians wrongly scan *itāque* in the line

itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,

but also the accentuation of, let us say, the word-group *apud vos*, which Thurneysen, in his excellent treatise, 'Der Saturnier' (Halle, 1885), the best exposition, in my opinion, of the accentual theory, incorrectly accents *apud vos* in the line

consol censor aidilis quei fuit apud uos.

But even if Plautine versification be rigidly excluded from giving

<sup>1</sup> For more detailed arguments, as well as for a detailed account of the rules of Latin accentuation, so far as we can gather them from the evidence of the Latin grammarians, the phonetic changes of words in Romance, and the versification of Plautus and Terence, I may be permitted to refer to two articles of mine in the Classical Review of 1891, vol. V, pp. 373-7, 402-8, to another in the Journ. Phil. XX, pp. 135-58, and to Dr. Skutsch, Forschungen, etc.



evidence on questions of accent, we have still the testimony of the grammarians (collected by Schoell in the *Acta Societatis Philologiae Lipsiensis*, vol. VI, 1876) to fall back upon, as well as the analogy of the Teutonic and other languages (see for Teutonic sentence-accentuation Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss*, I, pp. 344 sqq.), and the recent discoveries made by Romance philologists on the accentuation of Vulgar Latin (see Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik der Romanischen Sprachen*, vol. I, chaps. III-IV, Leipz. 1890).

I propose, then, in this paper to determine, by reference to Plautus, Terence and the fragments of Early Latin poetry, the quantity and, so far as can be done by the means just mentioned, the accentuation of all doubtful words in the extant Saturnian lines. Having thus provided as large a number as may be feasible of established facts, I shall attempt to deduce from them the actual nature of Saturnian verse.

It may be as well to begin with a frank confession that I believe it to be impossible, with the means at present at our disposal, to determine with certainty all the laws and by-laws which governed this primitive metre. If we consider that it is only the other day that Early Teutonic poetry, of which we have thousands of lines preserved, has yielded up the secrets of its metre, and that even yet there is a good deal of disagreement about several of its essential points, we can hardly expect to attain to as much, or half as much, certainty about the rules of a poetry like the Saturnian, of which we have hardly more than 150 complete lines rescued for us from oblivion, generally by the chance quotation of some Latin grammarian, and these, with their archaic forms and constructions, especially liable to corrupt transmission at the hands of mediaeval scribes. For all that, the recent exposition of the laws of Early Teutonic metre by Sievers in his *Altgermanische Metrik*, and of Vedic metre by Oldenberg in *Hymnen der Rigveda*, vol. I, chap. I (Berlin, 1888), as well as the enormous additions made of late to our knowledge of the metre and prosody of the Early Latin epic and dramatic poetry, ought to make it now possible to fix, with some amount of assurance, the leading laws of this native metre of the ancient Romans, even if the scarcity of material prevents us from determining each and every permissible variation from the normal type.

## §1. THE SATURNIAN FRAGMENTS.

First let us put in evidence this material itself. Havet, in his invaluable work, *De Saturnio Latinorum Versu* (Paris, 1880), has collected everything that can possibly be claimed as a vestige of Saturnian poetry, including in his collection a large number of prose passages, especially of Livy, which give the contents of some early prophecy or inscription and are clearly based on Saturnian lines. These last are obviously unsuitable for our present purpose. After the laws of the metre have once been deduced from actual Saturnian lines, it may be possible to extract from these prose passages the original verses which they paraphrase; but, for the meantime, so uncertain evidence must be put aside. The same applies to those quotations in the grammarians which give us only halves of lines; and these fragmentary lines are accordingly left alone for the present. The full lines preserved to us in poetical form I give in detail, following the order of Havet and mentioning in each case the authority for the line and any important discrepancies in the MSS. Where Reichardt, the latest champion of the quantitative theory, adopts a different reading from mine, his reading is recorded, in order that the reader may judge for himself how far the text of the MSS requires to be altered to suit a quantitative or an accentual scheme. Lines whose reading or Saturnian character is more than usually doubtful I enclose in brackets.

I. *On Inscriptions.*—A. *The Epitaphs of the Scipios.*

1. Honc oino ploirume cosentiont R<omai>

Inscr. R—. Reichardt *Romane*.

2. Duonoro optumo fuise uiro,

3. Luciom Scipione, filios Barbati

Reichardt *filiom*.

4. Consol, censor, aidilis hic fuet apud uos.

Inscr. *fuet a—*; cf. v. 10.

5. Hec cepit Corsica Aleriaque urbe;

6. Dedet Tempestatebus aide meretod

Inscr. *mereto—*.

vv. 1–6 are the epitaph of L. Corn. Scipio Barbati f., the consul of 259 B. C., CIL I 32, c. 200 B. C. (?); see Wölfflin in *Rev. de Philologie*, XIV. With regard to v. 2, which some would unnecessarily expand by the addition of the word *uiroro* (gen.

pl.), it is worth remarking that the phrase *vir bonorum optimus* is confirmed by the statement in Livy (29, 14, 8) that this identical title was conferred by the senate, in 204 B. C., on P. Scipio Nasica-

7. Cornelius Lucius Scipio Barbatus,
8. Gnaiuod patre prognatus, fortis uir sapiensque,
9. Quoius forma uirtutei parisuma fuit,
10. Consol, censor, aidilis quei fuit apud uos,
11. Taurasia, Cisauna, Samniō cepit;
12. Subigit omne Loucanam, opsidesque abdoucsit

*abdoucsit*, not *abdoucit* (so Reichardt), is on the stone. See Wölfflin, *Rev. de Philologie*, XIV.

vv. 7-12 are the epitaph of L. Corn. Scipio Barbatus, the consul of 298 B. C., I 30, c. 200 B. C. (?).

13. Quei apice insigne Dialis flaminis gesistei,
14. Mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia breuia,
15. Honos, fama, uirtusque, gloria, atque ingenium.
16. Quibus sei in longa licuisset tibe utier uita,
17. Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum.
18. Qua re lubens te in gremiu, Scipio, recipit
19. Terra, Publi, prognatum Publio, Corneli.

vv. 13-19 are probably the epitaph of P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, the elder son of the great Africanus, I 33, c. 180 B. C.

20. Magna sapientia, multasque uirtutes,
21. Aetate quom parua posidet hoc saxsum.
22. Quoiei uita defecit, non honos, honore,
23. Is hic situs, quei nunquam uictus est uirtutei,
24. Annos gnatus uiginti is l<oc>eis mandatus.

Inscr. *gnatus XX is l. . eis*. Reichardt *is diueis*.

25. Ne quairatis honore, quei minus sit mandatus.

vv. 20-25 are the latest metrical epitaph of a Scipio, I 34, c. 130 B. C., with the exception of I 38, also c. 130 B. C., which is in elegiac verse.

[NOTE.—These epitaphs of the Scipios may be taken to be free from irregularities due to want of education and ignorance of metre, and from errors of the sculptor, though the use of contemporary spellings of words which are scanned according to their archaic and poetical form need excite no surprise. (For *aetate* v. 21 and *hunc* v. 1 see the next paper.) At the same time it must be allowed that in I 38, the elegiac inscription just mentioned, the second line: *progenie mi genui, facta patris petiei*,

must, unless we scan *prōgēniē*, be regarded as a sculptor's error for *progeniem genui*. Those who have seen the stone will be unwilling to allow that the *i* of *mi* is a mere mark on the stone and not an actual letter. This makes it possible that in the first inscription, I 32, *filios* of v. 3 is an error for *filiom*, whether through simple substitution of *-s* for *-m* or by a wrong expansion of a form *filio*, presumably on the model, as Havet suggests. In the first line of I 38 monosyllabic *mieis* (later *meis*) has parallels in Plautus, e. g. *Men.* 202, and the older writers. It may be as well to quote the whole of this elegiac inscription, to enable the reader to gauge the amount of technical skill to be expected in the Saturnian epitaphs of the family:

Uirtutes generis mieis moribus accumulaui;  
Progenie mi genui; facta patris petiei;  
Maiorum optenui laudem, ut sibi me esse creatum  
Laetentur; stirpem nobilitauit honor.]

#### B. Other Inscriptions.

26. Quod re sua difeident, aspere afflicta,
27. Parens timens heic uouit, uoto hoc soluto,
28. Decuma facta, poloucta, leibereis lubentes
29. Donu danunt Hercolei maxsume mereto.
30. Semol te orant se uoti crebro condemnes.

vv. 26-30 are a votive inscription of the Vertuleii, apparently negotiatores, CIL I 1175, c. 150-135 B. C., according to Ritschl. The inscription was found at Sora.

31. Ductu, auspicio, imperioque eius .
32. Achaia capta, Corinto deleta,
33. Romam redieit triumphans. ob hasce res bene gestas,
34. Quod in bello uouerat, hanc aedem et signu .
35. Herculis Uictoris imperator dedicat.

vv. 31-5 are a dedicatory inscription of L. Mummius Achaicus, the conqueror of Achaia, CIL I 541, VI 331, 146 B. C.

36. Hoc est factum monumentum Maarco Caicilio.
37. Hospes, gratum est quom apud meas restitistei sedes.
38. Bene rem geras et ualeas; dormias sine cura.

vv. 36-8 = CIL I 1006, c. 130-100 B. C., found by the Via Appia.

39. Gonlegium quod est aciptum aetatei agedai,  
Inscr. aged—.



40. Opiarum ad ueitam quolundam festosque dies,
41. Quei soueis astutieis opidque Uolgani
42. Gondecorant saipisume comuiuia loidosque,
43. Ququei huc dederunt inperatoribus summeis,
44. Utei sesed lubentes beneiouent optantis.

vv. 39-44 are part of an inscription found at Falerii, the inscription of a 'collegium cocorum' in some settlement of Faliscans in Sardinia. See Zvetaieff, *Inscr. Ital. Inf.*, No. 72 a.

[NOTE.—These four inscriptions are not to be supposed to be more regular in their metre than other inscriptions of the kind in elegiac or iambic metre. The last inscription especially, which occasionally, by the length of its lines, seems to set all laws of the Saturnian metre, whether we call it quantitative or accentual, at defiance, is presumably not much more metrical than, let us say, I 1027 in 'iambics,' where the metre is destroyed by certain additions, which I bracket, in each line:

Hospes, resiste, et hoc ad grumum [ad laeuam] aspice,  
 Ubei continentur ossa hominis boni, [misericordis, amantis, pauperis].  
 Rogo te, uiator, monumento huic nil [male feceris].

The Saturnians of the dedicatory inscription of Mummius are not likely to be better than the hexameters of his other inscription, I 542:

De decuma uictor tibi Lucius Mummius donum,  
 Moribus antikeis, pro usura hoc dare sese  
 Uisum animo suo perfecit, tua pace rogans te  
 Cogendei dissoluendei tu ut facilia faxseis,  
 Perficias decumam ut faciat uerae rationis,  
 Proque hoc atque alieis doneis des digna merenti.]

## II. Quoted by Grammarians, etc.—A. From Inscriptions.

45. Uno complurimae consentiunt gentes

MSS *uno cum* (de Fin.), *unicum* (de Sen.). The latter is clearly an attempt at correcting the former, the *uno* of which seems to preserve a trace of the original *oino* (classical *unum*), acc. sg. Reichardt reads: *Hunc unum plurimae*.

46. Populi primarium fuisse uirum.

vv. 45-6 are from the epitaph of Atilius Calatinus, consul 258 B. C., quoted by Cicero twice, de Fin. 2. 35. 116, and de Sen. 17. 61.

47. Fundit, fugat, prosternit maxumas legiones.

From the inscription of Acilius Glabrio, probably 181 B. C., quoted by Caesius Bassus, de Metris, VI 265 K.

## 48. Magnum numerum triumphat hostibus deuictis

Quoted, apparently from an inscription, by Censorinus, VI 615 K.

## 49. Duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis

From the inscription of M. Aemilius Lepidus, in honor of his father, L. Aemilius Regillus, 179 B. C., quoted by Caesius Bassus, VI 265 K. Livy, who gives a prose paraphrase of the whole inscription (40. 52. 4), begins: *duello magno regibus dirimendo caput subigendis patrandae pacis*, etc. The word *caput* may have been transposed from the second line, if we suppose this to have begun: *Caput patrandae pacis* or *Caput pacis patrandae*. See the next paper, where the whole passage of Livy is discussed.<sup>1</sup>

## B. From Livius Andronicus, c. 285-205 B. C.

## 50. Uirum mihi, Camena, insece uersutum.

Ap. Gell. 18. 9. 5, quoted for *insece*.

51. Mea puera, quid uerbi ex tuo ore supra  
Fugit?

V. l. *puer* (so Reichardt) *ex tuo ore audio*. Reichardt's proposal is very probable, *ex tuo ore aufugit*.

Quoted by Priscian, I, p. 231 H., as an instance of *puera* for *puella*; by Charisius, 84 K., as an instance of *puer* for *puella*. Charisius, who makes the last part *ex tuo ore audio*, and so may be quoting a different line, says that Varro read *puera*, but Aelius Stilo and Asinius *puer*.

## 52. Neque tam te oblitus sum, Laertie noster

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 301, quoted for voc. sg. in *-ie*. MSS *neque enim*, and *neque tamen*, and *neque tam*; *Laertiae* and *Lertie*. I suppose *tam* (which suits the alliteration), Old Latin for *tamen* (Festus, p. 548, 3 Th.), to have been corrected in the archetype to *tamen*, by superposition of the syllable *en*. This *en* was mistaken by some scribes for *enim*. Reichardt *ted*. Trisyllabic *Lartie* is probable enough; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 946, Tragg. Inc. 90 R.

<sup>1</sup> It may also be a wrong expansion of some marginal or interlinear mark indicating the error caused by the transposition of *regibus* and *dirimendo*, like the mark (C with a dot) which Löwe (Wien. Stud. 1887, p. 327) mentions as used to indicate a corruption in the Escorial MS of Vitruvius. Similarly in Nonius Marcellus, p. 67, 17 M., a line (iamb. sen.?) quoted from Varro, de Compositione Saturarum, is given in the MSS as: *parentactoe adsunt mulierque mulier Venus caput*. The last word may point to the same mark having been used in the archetype by some scribe who did not understand the expression (used also by Petronius, chap. 42) *mulier quae mulier*, unless, indeed, the intrusive *caput*, both in this and in another passage of Nonius (p. 48, 26 M.), is nothing but the indication of a new paragraph. (But see Nettleship, Journ. Phil. XXI.)

## 53. Argenteo polūbro, aureo eclūtro

Ap. Non. 544 M., s. v. *polybrum*. MSS *et glutro*. Cf. ἐκλουτρον.

## 54. Tu quae mihi narrato omnia disertim

Ap. Non. 509 M., s. v. *disertim*. One MS has *tug*; that is, *tuque*. So Reichardt.

## 55. Matrem &lt;proci&gt; procitum plurimi uenerunt.

Ap. Paul. Fest., p. 282, 3 Thewr. Reichardt *matrem meam*. Zander *matrem proci*.

The spelling and prosody of the third word is uncertain. One would expect *prōcatum*, first supine of *proco*; cf. *procax* and *procus* (Paul. Fest. 281. 15 and 29 Th.; Non. 23. 19; Don. ad Ter. Hec. 1. 2. 84).<sup>\*</sup> Paulus would then be contrasting *prōcātum*, for *provocatū*, with *prōcātum*. (His words are: Procitum testamentum dicebatur velut procatum, provocatum, id est irritum ac ruptum. Procitum, cum prima syllaba corripitur, significat petitum. Livius: Matrem procitum plurimi venerunt.) But there is also the possibility of a derivative verb *prōcio* from *procus*, which is contrasted with *prōcio* or *prōcieo*, the compound of *pro* and *cio*, *cio*. Cf. Paul. 281. 27: Procitant provocitant. Citare enim vocitare est, unde 'procet' et 'prociet'; Gl. Vat. 3321: Procibimus (Procivimus): provocabimus (provocavimus); Gl. Philoxen.: procitat: προεκκαλείται; Gl. Vat. 3321: Promitat (*leg.* Procitat): provocat vel irritat.

## 56. Quando dies adueniet quem profata Morta est.

Ap. Gell. 3. 16. 11.

## [57. in Pylum deuenies aut ibi ommentans.]

Ap. Fest. 218 Thewr. Reichardt *deueniens*.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about this line, a translation of Hom. Od. 2. 317 ἢ Πύλονδ' ἐλθὼν, ἢ αὐτοῦ τῷδ' ἐνὶ δῆμῳ. Reichardt prefixes *Aut*, which may easily have dropt out after the preceding *ait* (Ommmentans, Livius in Odyssea quom ait: In Pylum, etc.), and seems to be required by the words of Homer. *Deuenies* may be the old spelling of *deueniens* (Hom. ἐλθὼν) (cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 451, §170, 1 Anm.); but there is no authority for *adueniens* or *aduenies*. The words of Festus might also be taken as: Quom in Pylum deuenies, etc. *Ibi* seems, strangely enough, to bear here the sense of *hic* 'in this place.'

## [58. Tuncque remos iussit religare struppis.]

Ap. Isid. Orig. 19. 4. 9. Some MSS have *Tumque*, some *deligare*.<sup>1</sup> Uncertain whether from a tragedy or from the Odyssey.

<sup>1</sup>The 8th-9th cent. MS of Isidore in the Escorial Library (I & 14), which I had lately the opportunity of consulting, reads *Tuncque* and *deligare*.

59. Ibidemque uir summus adprimus Patroclus.

Quoted by Gell. 6. 7. 11, in a chapter where he discusses the proper accentuation of words compounded with *ad*. After supporting *áffatim* by a line from Plaut. Cist.:

pótine tu homo fácinus facere strénuum? Aliorum áffatim est,

and *exáduersum* by Ter. Phorm. 1. 2. 38:

in quo haéc discebat lúdo, exáduersúm loco  
tostrína erat quaedam,

he goes on to quote this line of Livius in such a way as to leave us in doubt whether he means that the word was here accented *adprimus* or not.

60. Partim errant, nequínont Graeciam redire

Ap. Fest. 162 Th., quoted as instance of *nequínont*.

61. Apud nympham, Atlantis filiam, Calypsōnem

Quoted by Caesellius Vindex ap. Prisc. I, p. 210 H., for *Calypsonem*, acc. sg.

62. Igitur demum Ulixi cor frixit prae pauore

Ap. Serv. ad Virg. A. 1. 92. Some read *demus*; cf. Paul. Fest. 49, 27

Th.: Demum, quod significat post, apud Livium 'demus' legitur.

[63. Celsosque ocris aruaque putria et mare magnum.]

Ap. Fest. 196 Th. Possibly from a tragedy, like the other three lines quoted from Livius in this paragraph of Festus. Reichardt thinks the metre dactylic.

64. Utrum genua amploctens uirginem oraret.

Ap. Diom. 384 K., quoted as instance of *amploctor*.

65. Ibi manens sedeto, donicum uidebis

66. Me carpento uehente *meam* domum uenisse. }

Ap. Charis. 197 K., quoted for *donicum*. The (single) MS has *uehementem*. Haves reads *uehente in*. Others *uehente(m) en*.

67. Simul ac dacrumas de ore noegëo deterisit

Ap. Fest. 186, 32 Th., s. v. *noegeum*. MS *lacrimas*; but cf. Paul. Fest.

48 Th.: Dacrimas pro lacrimas Livius saepe posuit.

68. Namque nullum peius macerat humanum,

69. Quamde mare saeuom, uis et cui sunt magnae. }

[70. Topper confringent inportunae undae.]

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*. MS *uiret cui*, for which I propose (in Arch. Lat. Lexik. VIII 3) *uis* (nom. pl.) *et cui*. Cf. Hom. Od. 8. 138 *εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερὸς εἶη*. Reichardt reads *uires cui*, also *Namque nec ullum . . . <Genus> quamde*, and in the last line, which is generally agreed to be defective, *<Eum> topper*.

71. Mercurius cumque eo filius Latonas

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, quoted for *Latonas*, gen. sg.



## [72. Nexerant multa inter se nexu nodorum

Dubio.]

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 469, I, p. 538; Diom., p. 369 K., as example of *nexo*, perf. *nexi* (cf. Kühner, Lat. Gram. I, p. 569, §207). MSS *nexabant* (so Reichardt) and *nexebant* (but the context suggests *nexerant*); also *flexu nodorum*.

## 73. Nam diuina Monetas filia me docuit

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, for *Monetas*, gen. sg. The Irish MSS give *diuina*, the others *diua*. All MSS have *filiam*.

## [74. Inferus an superus tibi fert deus funera, Ulixes.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 96, for *superus*. The line is clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## 75. Topper facit homines ut prius fuerunt

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*. MS *utrius* and *fuerint*. Reichardt *homines*.

## 76. Topper citi ad aedis uenimus Circae

Ap. Fest., *ibid*.

## [77. Cum socios nostros mandissēt impius Cyclops.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 419, for perf. of *mando*. Clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## [78. At celer hasta uolans perrumpit pectora ferro.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 335, for *celer*, fem. sg. Clearly a dactylic hexameter.

## [79. Carnis autem unumque quod libant anclabatur.]

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 208, for *carnis*, nom. sg. Most MSS have *Carnis*, *ait* (but the insertion of *ait* in a quotation is contrary to Priscian's usual manner) and *libabant*. The Dresden MS (D 163) has: *Carnis autem unumquemque quod libabant anclamabant*. One of the Irish MSS and the Upsala MS (see Zander) have *libant*. The line translates: Od. 24. 364 Ταμνομένους κρέα πολλὰ κερώντας τ' αἶθρα οἶνον. The 3-syllabled form *anculo* 'to serve or minister,' from *anculus* (whence *ancilla*; cf. Nettleship, Contrib. Lat. Lexic., p. 191), seems to be required by the metre in the other line of Livius where the word occurs, Trag. 28 R.: *florem ánculabant Liberi éx carchésiis*.

## 80. Sancta puer, Saturni filia, regina

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 232, quoted as instance of *puer* for *puella*. Reichardt substitutes *maxuma* for *filia*, on the ground that *sancta puer* is an unlikely expression to be applied to Juno.

## C. From Naevius, c. 215 B. C.

## 81. Eorum sectam sequuntur multi mortales }

## 82. . . . Ubi foras cum auro illic exibant }

## 83. . . . Multi alii e Troia strenui uiri }

Quoted by Serv. ad Aen. 2. 797. Havet proposes *Ibi, illinc*. Others *ilico*. The lines may be continuous. *Illic* must be the adverb; for the nom. pl. masc. would be *illisce* (see Schmidt, de Demonstr. Pron. Form., p. 27).

84. Iamque eius mentem fortuna fecerat quietem

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 242, for *quietem*, acc. sg. fem.

85. Inerant signa expressa quomodo Titani,

86. Bicipites Gigantes, magnique Atlantes,

87. Runcus atque Porpureus, filii Terras.

Ap. Prisc. I, p. 198, quoted for *Terras*, gen. sg., and p. 217 (vv. 85-6 only), for *Titani*, nom. pl.

- [88. Marcus Ualerius consul partem exerciti]

In expeditionem ducit.]

Quoted by Charis., p. 128 K., for *exerciti*, gen. sg. Reichardt regards the lines as iambic senarii, though the ictus *Valerius* is unusual (see next paper).

89. Siluicolae homines bellicque inertes

Ap. Macrob. 6. 5. 9. Reichardt *homines*.

90. Blande et docte percontat Aeneam, quo pacto

Troiam urbem liquisset.

Ap. Non. 474, 6 M., s. v. *percontato*. Three MSS give *Aeneam*; the others *Aen.*, *Aeneidos*, *Aennius*, etc., indicating an archetype with *Aen.* Reichardt reads *Aenea*, the old form of nom. sg., according to Quint. 1. 5. 61. MSS *reliquisset*.

91. Prima incedit Cereris Proserpina puer;

92. Deinde pollens sagittis, inclutus Arquitenens,

93. Sanctus Delphis prognatus Pythius Apollo.

Quoted by Macrob. 6. 5. 8 for *arquitenens*. MSS *Sanctusque*. Reichardt *Sanctus Ioue prognatus*.

94. Isque susum ad caelum sustulit suas res

- [95. Amulius gratulabatur diuis.]

Ap. Non. 116, 31 M., s. v. *gratulari*. MSS *Amullus*, *Ammullus*. Reichardt *ac multis* (sc. *verbis*) *gratulatur diuis*. Others *gratulabat*. Havet *Irque . . . suum rex*, with *ir* 'the hand' (or *hir*, cf. Greek *χείρ*), a word which the grammarians usually declare to be indeclinable and of neuter gender (see Nettleship, *Contrib. Lat. Lexic.*, p. 496). But the Greek cognate word suggests that *ir* may have been fem. Cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 628: *Né quid in té mali fáxit ir pércita* (MSS *ira*).

96. Postquam auem aspexit in templo Anchisa,

97. Sacra in mensa Penatium ordine ponuntur.

98. Immolabat auream uictimam pulcram.

Ap. Prob. ad Virg. *Ecl.* 6. 31. Reichardt gives up the last line as hopelessly corrupt. Some read *Penatum*; cf. Neue, II<sup>2</sup>, p. 136.

99. Simul atrocia porricerent exta

Ministratores.

Ap. Non. 76, 3 M., s. v. *atrox*. MSS *proicerent* (so Reichardt). Havet *porricerent*, the usual term. In *Fenestella* ap. Non. 154, 17 M., *porrecissem* is again corrupted by the MSS of Nonius into *proiecissem*.

100. Transit Melitam Romanus; insulam integram }  
 101. Urit, populatur, uastat, rem hostium concinnat. }  
 Ap. Non. 90 M., s. v. *concinnare*. MSS *Romanus exercitus*, the latter word being probably a gloss. The first of these two lines makes an iambic senarius!
102. Uirum praetor adueneit, auspicat auspicium }  
 Prosperum }  
 Ap. Non. 468 M., s. v. *auspico*. MSS *adueniet*. Reichardt *adueniens* and *Uerum*. (The MSS of Nonius give *uirum* for *verum* in Lucil. 3. 64; 29. 81 M.)
103. Censent eo uenturum obuiam Poenum  
 Ap. Non. 267, s. v. *censere*. MSS *censent* and *censet* (so Reichardt).
- [104. Conuenit regnum simul atque locos ut haberent.]  
 Ap. Non. 211, quoted for masc. plur. of *locus*. A dactylic hexam.
105. Superbiter contemtim conerit legiones.  
 Ap. Non. 515, s. v. *superbiter*. The alliterative *contemtim conerere* recurs in Plaut. Poen. 537.
106. Septimum decimum annum ilico sedent.  
 Ap. Non. 325, s. v. *ilico*. Reichardt *I septimum*. Havet *sederent*. L. Müller *sedentes*.
- [107. Id quoque paciscuntur, moenia siquae] }  
 [108. Lutatium conciliant, captiuos plurimos.] }  
 109. ... Siciliensis paciscit obsides ut reddant. }
- Ap. Non. 474, s. v. *paciscunt*. MSS *sinque* and *reconciliant captiuos plurimos idem Sicilienses*, etc., the *idem* apparently indicating a second quotation from the same author. (In Plaut. Bacch. 865-6 *paciscor* and *pacisco* occur in adjacent lines, so that v. 109 need not necessarily belong to a different passage than vv. 107-8.)
110. Ei uenit in mentem hominum fortunas  
 Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 199, for *fortunas*, gen. sg. Most MSS give *mente*, but though *in mentem esse* occurs in Old Latin, e. g. Plautus, *in mentem venire* is the construction in use.
111. Onerariae onustae stabant in flustris  
 Ap. Isid. Nat. Rer. 44, for *flustrum*.
- [112. Magnamque domum decoremque ditem duxerat.]  
 Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 235, for *decorem*, and in Vat. Gloss. ap. Mai-Auct. Class. VIII, p. 165. The Upsala MS of Priscian has, according to Zander, *duxerant*; the other MSS of Priscian, *uexerant* and *uexarant*. Some Priscian MSS have *Magnam*. The words seem to form the end of one dactylic hexameter and the beginning of another. Reichardt, reading *magnam*, makes them an iambic senarius.
- [113. Plerique omnes subiguntur sub tuum iudicium]  
 Quoted by Don. ad Ter. Andr. i. i. 28 for *plerique omnes*. The MSS give *subiguntur* and *subigunt*, *sub unum* (so Reichardt) and *sub suum*.

## [114. Pulcramque ex auro uestemque citrosam.]

Quoted by Isid. Orig. 19. 22. 20 for *citrosa*. Many MSS have *pulchraque*. Also in Gloss. Vat. (Mai, Auct. Class. VIII, p. 116): *puram ex auro vestemque citrosam*. Macrobian. 3. 19. 5 quotes *citrosa uestis* from Naevius; cf. Paul. Fest. 30, 10 Th., *citrosa uestis*, which suggests that the right order of the last two words may be *citrosamque uestem*. Reichardt reads *Pulcra uasa ex auro*.

## 115. Res diuinas edicit, praedicat castus

Ap. Non. 197, s. v. *castitas*. MSS *dinas*, but see note on v. 73 above. Reichardt reads *castus praedicat* for the sake of the rhyme.

## 116. Senex, fretus pietati, adlocutus summi

## 117. Regis fratrem Neptunum, regnatorem marum. }

Quoted by Prisc. I, p. 352, for *marum*, gen. pl. MSS *deum adlocutus summi deum*. I omit *deum* in both lines as being a repetition of the same marginal gloss. Reichardt, who also reads *marium*, omits only the second *deum*.

## 118. Summe deum regnator, quianam genuisti?

Ap. Fest. 340 Th., s. v. *quianam*. The MS gives *genus isti*. Reichardt reads *quianam me genuisti?*

## 119. Seseque ii perire mauolunt ibidem, }

## 120. Quam cum stupro redire ad suos popularis, }

Ap. Fest. 460 Th., s. v. *stuprum*. MS *i*, and so Reichardt, for *ii*. But cf. Havet in Rev. Phil. 1892, p. 75.

## 121. Sin illos deserant, fortissimos uiros, }

## 122. Magnum stuprum populo fieri per gentis }

Ap. Fest., *ibid.*

## 123. amborum uxores }

## Noctu Troiad exhibant, capitibus opertis, }

## 124. Flentes ambae, abeuntes lacrumis cum multis. }

Ap. Serv. ad Aen. 3. 10. MSS *Troiade*.

## [125. Atque prius pariet lucusta lucam bouem.]

Ap. Varr. L. L. 7. 39 for *Luca bos*. The MS gives *lucustam*. Vahlen makes the line a dactylic hexameter: *Atque prius pariet lucam lūcusta bouem <quam>*.

## [126. Conferre queant ratem aeratam qui per liquidum mare sudantes eunt atque sedentes.]

Quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 23 for *ratis*. The words suggest anapaestic, or dactylic, rather than Saturnian metre, and may come from a tragedy. The MS has *conferreque aut, qui perit quidum, atque sedantes*. Some read *sulcantes* for *sudantes*; and *fodantes* (Paul. Fest. 49, 25 Th.; cf. Enn. Ann. 259 M.) is not unlikely for *sedantes*.

[127. Cum tu arquiteuens sagittis pollens }  
Dea.] }

Ap. Macrobian. 6. 5. 8. Uncertain whether from the *Bellum Pœnicum* or from a tragedy. Fleckeisen proposes *Deana* (*Diana*) for *dea*.



## 128. Ferunt pulcras creterras aureas lepistas

Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.; Mar. Plot. 531 K. Some MSS *crateras*, and so Reichardt; but *creterra* seems to be the old form. (See Georges, Lex. Wortf. s. v.)

## 129. Magnae metus tumultus pectora possidet.

Ap. Non. 214, s. v. *metus*, quoted for *metus*, fem. L<sup>1</sup> has *possidit*, which is likely to be right. I scan, with Reichardt, *possidet*, from 3d conj. *possido*; cf. Lucr. 1. 386, *possidat inane*.

## 130. Nouem Iouis concordēs filiae sorores

Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.

## 131. Patrem suum supremum optimum appellat.

Quoted by Varro, L. L. 7. 51 for *supremus*.

## 132. Scopas atque uerbenas sagmina sumpserunt

Ap. Paul. Fest. 469 Th., s. v. *sagmina*.

## 133. Simul alius aliunde rumitant inter se(se).

Ap. Paul. Fest. 369 Th., s. v. *rumitant*. Some MSS *inter se*; so Reichardt.

## [134. Apud emporium in campo hostium pro moene.]

Ap. Fest. 124 Th., s. v. *moene*, who ascribes the line to Ennius.

## 135. Simul duona eorum portant ad nauis; }

## 136. Millia alia in isdem inseruntur. }

Ap. Fest. 532 Th., s. v. *topper*, who apparently ascribes the lines to Livius. Reichardt, on the ground that *millia alia* is not good Latin, reads *multa alia*.

## [137. Redeunt, referunt petita rumore secundo.]

Ap. Macrob. 6. 1. 37, who ascribes the line to Suetius. L. Müller transposes *rumore* and *petita*, and makes the line a dactylic hexameter, apparently rightly.

## 138. Dabunt malum Metelli Naeuio poetae

Ap. Caes. Bass. 266 K.; Mar. Vict. 139 K.; Mar. Plot. 531 K.; Atil. Fort. 294 K.; Ter. Maur. 2517; Pseud.-Ascon. in Cic. Verr. 1. 10. 29. *Malum dabunt* is given by the first three.

This is the famous epigram of the Metelli on Naevius. The line of Naevius which provoked their resentment—

Fato Metelli Romae fiunt consules,

is an iambic senarius from one of his dramas. Nothing can better illustrate the uncertain transmission of these Saturnian fragments than the fact that this famous epigram on Naevius, quoted by no less than six authors, is quoted by three with a transposition of the first two words.<sup>1</sup> *Dabunt malum Metelli* agrees with the usual practice of alliteration, on which see the next paper.

<sup>1</sup> So that Reichardt is unnecessarily severe when he declares that, though the form of single words may be emended in these Saturnian fragments, transposition of their order should, if possible, never be resorted to.

139. Immortales mortales si foret fas flere,  
 140. Flerent diuæ Camenæ Næuium poetam.  
 141. Itaque, postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro,  
 142. Obliti sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua

Ap. Gell. I. 24. 2. Some MSS have *Orchio*, apparently a fusion of the two readings *Orcho* and its correction *Orchi*. Reichardt reads *Orchino*.

vv. 139-42 are the so-called epitaph of Nævius, quoted by Gellius along with the similar epitaphs of Plautus and Pacuvius. From the words of Gellius about the epitaph of Plautus: quod dubitasset an Plauti foret, nisi a M. Varrone positum esset in libro 'De Poetis' primo, it seems that these epitaphs are of earlier date than Varro. Cf. Luc. Müller in Berl. Phil. Woch. 1892, p. 689.

143. Summas opes qui regum regias refregit.

Ap. Diom. I, p. 512 K.; Atil. VI, p. 293 K. May not be by Nævius.

To these we may add a line quoted by Festus from some poet whose name he does not mention, a Saturnian line to all appearance:

144. Occursatrix artificum perdita spinturnix.

Ap. Fest. 492 Th.

[NOTE.—A few of these lines quoted from the *Odyssea* and the *Bellum Poenicum* have unmistakably the form of dactylic hexameters. These books, at any rate the former, were used as school-books for the Roman boys, and were very likely simplified for this purpose by being paraphrased in a more familiar metre than the Saturnian. Whether any of the lines are quoted by grammarians in an iambic form is not so certain. See note on vv. 88, 112. For all that, it often seems quite within the bounds of possibility by a slight change<sup>1</sup> to restore the original Saturnian line, which has been adapted to the new metre, so that some of these lines will be considered later along with Livy's prose paraphrases of Saturnian inscriptions and prophecies.]

<sup>1</sup> If this is a reproach to the Saturnian metre, it is equally a reproach to the Iambic, that the first half of an iambic senarius of Pacuvius (Tragg. 224 R.):

Diuórsi circumspícimus; horror pércipit,

is nearly identical with a Virgilian hexameter:

Diversi circumspiciunt. hoc acrior idem.

It is interesting here to notice how the old dramatic writer is careful to keep ictus and accent in agreement, while Virgil lets them clash without scruple. (Cf. the remarks of Bassus ap. Rufin., p. 556 K., on Ter. Eun. 49.)

## §2. QUANTITY AND ACCENTUATION IN EARLY LATIN POETRY.

These lines must, as we have seen, be scanned, in the main, with the same quantities and the same accents as contemporary lines in other metres exhibit. What, then, is the information to be gained from contemporary poetry about the doubtful quantities in them? First in regard to final syllables:

Final *-a* of the first declension, though it was no doubt originally long in Latin (cf. Attic *-ῆ*), never seems to be found with any but the short quantity even in the earliest literature—neither in Plautus (Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 44), nor in Ennius (Reichardt in *Fleck. Jahrb.* 1889, p. 780). *Agoeā* in Enn. Ann. 567 M. is the Greek word ἀγυῖα. *Aquilā*, Ann. 149:

et densis aquila pinnis obnixa uolabat,

is merely a case of a short final syllable lengthened in penthemimeral caesura, as *populūs* in hephthemimeral, Ann. 85:

sic expectabat populus atque ora tenebat,

both in imitation of the Greek epic practice (see Reichardt, l. c.). So in these Saturnian lines we should probably scan *formā* v. 9 (c. 200 B. C.), *famā* v. 15 (c. 180 B. C.), and certainly *uilā* v. 22 (c. 130 B. C.), etc. Similarly final *-a* of neuter plurals, originally long in the second declension at least (where it seems to have been the same as fem. sing. *ā*), always shows the short quantity in early poetry (Klotz, *ibid.*; Reichardt, *ibid.*); and this renders improbable any other scansion than *omniā* v. 14, v. 54, *pectorā* v. 129, *sagminā* v. 132, etc. *Ila* too, and certainly *itāque*, seem always to have short *-a* (in spite of the remarks of 4th-century grammarians, ap. Schoell, de Accentu, p. 139) (vid. C. F. Müller, *Plaut. Pros.*, p. 13); so scan *itāque* v. 141: itaque postquam est Orcho traditus thesauro. The 'abl.' sg. of the third declension apparently had originally a long vowel in *i*-stems, a short vowel in consonant stems; but we find these latter occasionally following the analogy of the former in Plautus (not in Terence; Skutsch, *Forsch.* I, p. 12 n.). *Ordinē* is thus possible in v. 97 (cf. *Plaut. Pseud.* 761, 1312). Whether or to what extent the old final *-d* of the ablative sing. may have been used in Saturnian poetry by Livius and Naevius is an open question. (*Troia str-* v. 83 and *Troiad e-* v. 123 may be doublets.) *Ibī* is found as well as *ibī*, and probably *ibīdem* (but cf. Langen in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*

1891, p. 398) beside *ibidem* in Plautus (cf. *ibidem*, Ter. Andr. 777); so we may scan *ibidem* in v. 119, *Ibidemque* in v. 59. Before final -r an originally long vowel is always long in Plautus, probably also in Ennius (Reichardt, l. c.), while it is shortened in Lucilius; and the same applies to final -t (Müller, Plaut. Pros.; Reichardt, l. c.), though the shortening here seems to have come in rather earlier than before -r (e. g. in Ennius, *mandebāt* beside *ponebāt*, *splendēt* beside *iubēt*). With regard to all these long syllables, the Law of Breves Breviantes may at any time occasion their shortening in dissyllabic words which begin with a short syllable (e. g. *uidēt*, *amōr*, etc., frequent in Plautus). Beginning with such words, the shortening gradually spread to others; first *vidēt*, then *pervidēt*, then *splendēt*, etc. This law also shortens in polysyllables vowels long by 'position' when preceded by a short syllable and followed by the accent, e. g. *ministerium* (*minsterium*, Plaut. Pseud. 772). So we may scan *Calypsonem* in v. 61 (as in Pacuv. 403 R.). But a naturally long syllable is probably not shortened in this way; so not, e. g., *reliquisset* (see my article in Journ. Phil. XXI).

As regards other than final vowels, we have *fūi* beside *fūi*, *fūisse* beside *fūisse*, or even *fūisse*, in Plautus (Brix ad Capt. 259); *adnūt* (pft.), Enn. Ann. 135 M., and so with other perfects of verbs in -uo in Old Latin (Priscian, I, p. 504 H.); *fieri* and *fierem* beside *fieri* and *fierem* (never -i- after the time of Terence) (Reichardt, l. c., p. 782). In Plautus we see a tendency of the time to shorten in hiatus vowels which are long in classical Latin poets, e. g. *Chīus*, *Pellāeus* (?) (Bücheler in Rhein. Mus. 41, 311), which would entitle us to scan *Aenēam* in v. 90. But *Luciōm* in v. 3, an almost necessary scansion for the quantitative theorists (though they usually allow *Lucius* in v. 7), is not only contradicted by every example of the word in Early Latin poetry, but by the evidence of Oscan *Lūvkis* (nom. sg. of stem *Louvkio-*). The name *Marius*, in Oscan with stem *Maraio-*, had indeed probably -i- originally (*Maraio*s becoming *Marius* as *concaido* became *concido*), but the same tendency that produced *Chīus*, *Pellāeus*, *balnēum*, *platēa*, etc., shows us *Marius* at the earliest period for which we can get evidence. Equally untenable is the scansion *uīro-* in v. 2, etc.; for we have no evidence of any stem but *uīro-* in Latin, whatever be the case with other dialects of Italy. Synizesis seems to be established for *mēōs*, *sūās*, etc., in Plautus, rather than *mēōs*, *sūās*, by the Breves Breviantes Law (Leppermann, de Correptione,



etc.; Journ. Phil. XXI, l. c.); for Ennius it is certain in *ēorundem* Ann. 202, *s(u)os* 233, *s(u)as* 102, etc. The vowel *-i-* becomes consonantal *y* in *āiūm* Enn. Ann. 91, *insidiāntes* 443 (?), etc. *Eius*, *cuius*, *huius* are monosyllables when unemphatic and when in certain combinations (Luchs in Studem. Stud. I, pp. 319 sqq.; Class. Rev. V, p. 405). It would thus not be illegitimate to scan in v. 14 *tua* as one syllable, v. 84 *eius* as one, v. 66 *meam* as one, v. 97 *Penatūm* as three, and so on. Final *-s* seems to have been weakly pronounced in the period of the early literature. It is the exception, and not the rule, for *-s* to constitute 'position' before an initial consonant in the dramatists, e. g. *subigīs maledictis*, Plaut. Trin. 140 (see Havet in Études . . . G. Paris, p. 304, who shows that Ennius never allows a scansion like the *primūs se* of Virgil, Aen. 2. 370). Thus in v. 9 *quoiūs* is far more likely than *quoiūs*. Final *-ē* is often suppressed before an initial consonant in the dramatists in words like *nempe*, *unde*, *inde*, *proinde* (becoming *proin*), *deinde* (becoming *dein*), perhaps *ill(e)*, *mitt(e)* *me sis*, etc. (Skutsch, Forsch. I), like *neque* and *nec*, *atque* and *ac*. So possibly in v. 33 *ob hasc(e) res*. (Cf. the remarks of Langen in Philologus, XLVI, p. 419, on the unwillingness of the dramatists to allow a thesis like 'expectāre vis,' the final short vowel being evidently considered hardly strong enough to sustain alone the character of a thesis.)

As regards accentuation, in particular the subordination of unimportant to leading words in the sentence, we find most of the statements on this topic which are scattered through the works of the grammarians of the Empire to be very faithfully exemplified in Plautine versification (Class. Rev. V 373-7, 402-8). Where the grammarians fail us, the words which we should infer from the analogy of other languages, and from the evidence of Romance, to have been unaccentuated in the Latin sentence, are found, as a rule, to lack the metrical ictus in the dramatists' dialogue metres (Class. Rev., *ibid.*). These words are not properly called 'enclitics,' for, as Quintilian (1. 5. 25) points out with regard to the preposition and noun, there is not so much an attraction of the accent of the one word by the other as a fusion of the two words into a word-group, which then takes the ordinary accent of a single word: *circum litōra*, he says, was pronounced *circum-litōra*: *tanquam unum enuntio dissimulata distinctione*; *itaque tanquam in una voce una est acuta*. So too Priscian, I, p. 183, objects to the description of *quis* in *siquis*, etc., as an 'enclitic,'

like Greek  $\tau\iota\varsigma$ . *Siquis* is, he says, more truly called a word-group, and takes the natural accent of a compound word, like *respublica*, *jusjurandum*, etc. These subordinate words are: (1) the various parts of the substantive verb, e. g. *confessa-est* (or *confessast*), *confessus-est* (or *confessust*), *confessa-sit*, *confessus-sit* (for *-s*, as a rule, does not constitute 'position' in Early Latin), *confessi-sunt*, etc. So in v. 142 *Obliti-sunt* will have the accent on the last syllable of *obliti*; in v. 23 accentuate *uictus-est* (or *uictust*); in v. 25 *sit* will be unaccented, etc. (Class. Rev., p. 404). (2) The possessive pronouns when unemphatic, e. g. *uoluptas-mea* always in Plaut. The Romance forms point to Vulg. Lat. *\*mus*, *\*mum*, *\*ma* beside emphatic *meus*, *meum*, *mea*, like *sis*, etc., for *suis*, etc., in Ennius' *sis oculis* (attested by Festus, 428 Th.); while in lines like Trin. 990:

uapulabis meo arbitrato et nouorum aedilium,

monosyllabic *meo* is absorbed by the metre so as hardly to count for a syllable at all. Thus in v. 14 *tua* may be similarly absorbed, *tu(a)-ut-essent*; in v. 26 *re-sua* (disyllabic or trisyllabic); in v. 51 *tuo*, in v. 120 *suos*, etc., need not be accented (Class. Rev., p. 404). (3) The personal pronouns when unemphatic, e. g. *vae miseró mihi* always in Plaut. The preposition always receives the verse-ictus in the dramatists in phrases like *in-me*, *apud-me*, etc., unless the pronoun is emphatic (or elided), which indicates that in this collocation it had in Latin pronunciation the accent, just as it has in the pronunciation of most languages (see above, p. 141; Class. Rev., p. 403). So accentuate vv. 4, 10 *apud-uos*; in v. 18 *te*, v. 30 *te* and *se* will lack the accent, etc. (4) Demonstrative pronouns when unemphatic. So in Plautus *inter-eos*, *praeter-eos*, etc. (Ritschl, Prolegg., p. ccxxvii), but emphatic *is-ego-sum* or *ego-is-sum* (Class. Rev., p. 405). Unemphatic *ille* has dwindled into the definite article in Romance. Hence v. 21 *hoc-saxsum*, v. 23 *Is hic situs*, v. 27 *heic-uouit* and *uoto-hoc*, v. 34 *hanc-aedem*, v. 84 *eius-mentem*, etc. (5) Auxiliary verbs, such as *coctum-dabo*, *factum-volo* (cf. *quantumvis*). So in Plaut. *uoluisse* is a word-group (Journ. Phil. XX, pp. 140, 147), just as 'will, shall' form with the verb a compound tense in English. (6) Nouns of subordinate meaning, like *res*, *modus*, as in English 'something, nothing,' e. g. *miris-modis* (cf. *quomodo*), *bonae-rei*, etc., in Plaut., who also scans invariably *ei-r(ei) operam-dabam* (Class. Rev., p. 405). So accentuate in v. 18 *Qua-re* (cf. *quare*,

*quamobrem*), v. 94 *suās-res*, v. 101 *rem-hōstium*, etc. (7) Prepositions, e. g. *in-aēdem*, *ob-viam*, *ab-re* (cf. *obviam*, *invicem*, *sedulo*, *admodum*) (Journ. Phil. XX 151; Skutsch, Forsch. I 159). So v. 16 *in-lōnga*, v. 18 *in-grēmium*, v. 76 *ad-aēdis*, v. 97 *in-mēnsa*, v. 113 *sub-tuum iudicium*. (8) Relatives, while interrogatives were stressed, as the grammarians frequently tell us; e. g. Quint. 1. 5. 26 says that *qualis* rel. was fused with the following word. The postposed relative, to judge from the dramatists' versification, was fused with the preceding word, e. g. Ter. Hec. prol. 12 *nouās qui exactas feci* (Journ. Phil. XX, p. 150). So perhaps v. 54 *Tū-quae*, v. 23 *Is hic situs quei-nūquam*, etc.; in v. 14 *ut* 'so that,' v. 75 *ut* 'as' will be unaccented (Class. Rev., p. 403).

With regard to accented words the exceptions to the ordinary law of accentuation (viz. of the antepenultimate syllable if the penultima is short, of the penultima itself if long, e. g. *dēcōrem*, *dēcōrem*) include, according to the grammarians, words whose final syllable has been lost by syncope, e. g. *illīc* (older *illīce*) (cf. Ital. *lì*, Span. *allí*) (Class. Rev., p. 375). So accentuate *illīc* in v. 82. On the other hand, *uidēn* of Plaut. Virg., etc. (see Servius ad Aen. 6. 779), *licētn(e)* of Plaut. seem to show that when an enclitic *-ne*, *-que* was elided the word might be treated as if it had been originally a dissyllable, etc. (Class. Rev., p. 376). *Plerique* was the accentuation of the full form, but the invariable incidence of the metrical ictus on the first syllable of the word in *plēriqu(e) omnes* in Plautus and Terence (Journ. Phil. XX, p. 158) points to the accentuation *plēriq(ue)*, at least in this word-group. So perhaps v. 119 *Sēseq(ue)*, v. 86 *māgnīq(ue)*, and certainly v. 113 *Plēriqu(e)-omnes*. The Vulgar Latin accentuation *vīginti* (cf. the Romance forms) is disproved for literary Latin of the time of Plautus by the normal ictus of the word in his plays, *uīginti* (Class. Rev., p. 408); so accentuate v. 24 *Annos gnātus uīginti*.

That the great law of Latin accentuation, the penultima law, was in force in the period of the early literature we see, not only from some phonetic changes of words which can be traced to the influence of the accent, but also from such usages of Plautus as the avoidance of a metrical ictus like *gēnēra*, *pectōra*, *consilia*, *ingentibus*, and in general his disposition of the ictus on the antepenultima of words with short penult and on long penultimate syllables. At some early time there was, we know, a different law in force, by which every Latin word (as every Teutonic, and

probably every Celtic word) was accented on the first syllable (Stolz in Wien. Stud. VIII, pp. 149 sqq., 1886). But at what precise period this change, no doubt a gradual one, began and completed itself it is next to impossible to ascertain with certainty. There is, indeed, a piece of evidence to show that it was still incomplete in one particular in the time of Plautus, for the metrical treatment of words like *facilius* (vvv~) in his plays indicates that the pronunciation of such words in his time laid the accent on the first, not on the second syllable. A line in which the metrical ictus falls on their second syllable occurs so rarely in Plautus, and Terence too, as to suggest the probability of corrupt reading or later interpolation (see my article in *Philologus*, 1892). There are, however, no indications to determine the time when a word like *tempestatibus* changed its accentuation from *tēmpestatibus* to *tempestātibus*, though we can guess, partly from the analogy of other languages, partly from the inherent probabilities of the case, what the nature of that change was. A long word like *tempestatibus* must have had at all periods two accents—a main and a secondary. In the period of the older accentuation the main accent would fall on the first, the secondary accent on the third syllable; so that the change from the old accentuation to the new would be, in reality, nothing but a usurpation, by the secondary accent, of the prominence of the main accent; *tēmpestatibus* became *tēmpestātibus*. This double accentuation, a notice of which some profess to find in Varro's words about the *media prosodia* in Latin (Schoell, l. c., p. 44), must have existed in all of the longer words, just as it does in Italian to-day, where the secondary accent on the first syllable of a word like *pellegrino*, Lat. *peregrinus*, has left visible evidence of itself in the doubling of the *l*. So *tollerare*, *seppelire*, *scellerato*, etc. (Meyer-Lübke, Ital. Gram., p. 154, §267) point to *tōlerāre*, *sēpelire*, *scēlerātus*. A long initial syllable, as in words like *temperare*, *insilire*, *temperatus*, would naturally be still more assertive of its secondary accent in pronunciation (cf. Ital. Fiorentino from *Flōrentinus* beside Firenze from *Florēntia*), although the language of the grammarians of the Empire about the penultima law leaves us no room for doubt that the main accent of all these words fell clearly on the penultima, and not on the initial syllable. These considerations will justify us in scanning in v. 6 *Tēmpestātebus*, v. 111 *Ōnerāriae*, v. 98 *Immolābat*, etc. The versification of Plautus is unfortunately, from its very nature, hardly capable of supplying evidence about the pronunciation in his time of most of these polysyllables.



The exigencies of trochaic and iambic rhythm require of themselves the incidence of the verse-ictus on the first and third syllables of *tēpestātibus*, *immolābat*, etc.; so that the fact that this is the invariable metrical treatment of these words in his dialogue metres cannot be used as a proof that this was also their natural accentuation in the pronunciation of his time. An arrangement of ictus like *tempēstatibus* would involve that conflict between ictus and accent in the penultima which, as we saw, was avoided by Terence and Plautus in dactylic words and terminations. The same conflict would result, if regard were taken of the secondary accent, which we have postulated for the first syllable of *onerariae*; for the incidence of the ictus on that syllable would, in trochaic and iambic metres, involve its incidence also on the short unaccented penultima, *ōnerariae*. It is only in words like *Mercurius* (— ∪ ∪ —), *ibidemque* (∪ ∪ — ∪) that Plautine versification has a freedom of choice, and so is capable of being used as evidence. Of these, the first type of word has, according to Ritschl (Opusc. V, p. 448), the ictus on the second syllable far more frequently than on the first—*Mercurius*, *iudicium*, *consilium*, *officium*, etc., more often than *Mērcurius*, etc. The metrical accentuation of the first syllable is, of course, regular in word-groups like *consiliūm-dabo* Stich. 73, *officiūm-suum* Stich. 58, but it is not at all uncommon, even when the words stand by themselves, a fact which harmonizes with the assumption that the old accent, on the first syllable of these choriambic words, was not entirely obliterated in the pronunciation of Plautus' time, and justifies the accentuation *Mērcurius* in v. 71:

Mērcurius cumque eo filius Latonas.

For a word of the Ionic a Majore form (— — ∪ ∪), such as *primarium* v. 46, we can infer nothing from the invariable metrical accentuation *primārium* in Plautus, for an incidence of ictus like *primarium* would involve the same clash between accent and ictus in the penultima, which the dramatists avoided. But a secondary and main accent would more easily remain side by side in two long syllables like *primā*<sup>1</sup> than in a long and short syllable

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Reichardt takes exception to the proximity of secondary and main accent in *primārium*. But is there not the same thing in German words like 'Èntsāgung'? There certainly is in English words like 'fōrtñfghtly.' And why should the proximity of two accents be less tolerable than the proximity of two metrical ictus, such as, by his theory of suppression of the thesis, he postulates for *fōrtūnas* v. 110, etc.? In Teutonic early poetry the proximity of main and secondary accent, both of which are reckoned in the scansion, is the commonest thing possible, e. g. *Héalfdēnes*, *mēarecstāpa* (see Kluge in Paul's Grundriss, I, p. 343; Sievers, Altgerm. Metr., pp. 34-5, etc.).



like *Mercū-*, and if we allow *Mercūrius* we must à fortiori admit *primārium*. Words of the Ionic a Minore form, e. g. *ibidemquē*, *peregrinus*, *meministi*, etc., have not infrequently the ictus on their first syllable in Plautus' lines (see Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 333), so that his evidence supports, so far as it goes, an accentuation like *Dūōnōro* v. 2.

### §3. THE TWO RIVAL THEORIES TESTED.

The Roman metricians of the Empire declared the Saturnian verse to be a compound of an iambic dimeter catalectic with a trochaic tripod:

Dābūnt | mālūm | Mētēl|li || Naēu|ō pō|ētaē,

though they acknowledged their inability to suit any but a few lines to this Procrustean scheme (see the passages quoted by Havet, pp. 310 sqq.). That they should have taken for granted that the metre was quantitative, and not accentual, was only to be expected from the fact that all their statements about metre are borrowed from Greek sources, just as the statements of Roman grammarians on Latin accentuation (*Class. Rev.* V, p. 373, 1891), on Latin phonetics (Nettleship in *Oxf. Phil. Soc. Trans.* 1887-88), and on Latin grammar in general (Froehde, *Anfangsgründe Römischer Grammatik*, 1892), all bear the trace of a Greek origin, and must have their value discounted accordingly. Modern upholders of the quantitative theory cannot claim in support of it any more weight from the statements of the metricians of the Empire than the accentual school can claim from the isolation of Greece among the nations of antiquity in its use of an entirely quantitative metre. The rival theories must stand or fall by their own merits, according as they do, or do not, suit the quantities and accents which can be demonstrated for the extant Saturnian lines.

How far does the quantitative theory, as stated by the Latin metricians and their modern followers, answer this test? It suits admirably a few lines, like the epigram of the Metelli, just quoted, but will never do, unless in a modified form, for lines like vv. 87, 94:

Runcūs | atquē | Porpureus || filii Terras.

Isquē | susūm | ad caelum || sustulit suas res

The earlier adherents to this theory in modern times went boldly on the assumption that, since Saturnian metre was a metre of the

Early Latin period, no irregularity of quantity in a word need excite surprise. The final vowel of *-que* (*atque, isque*) was, they alleged, 'in all probability originally long.' But unfortunately for this easy-going method, the science of Comparative Philology has come into existence since their time, and has proved beyond a doubt that the enclitic *-que* was at all periods of Latin a short syllable, so short indeed that, in ordinary rapid utterance, the vowel was lost altogether even before a word beginning with a consonant, *neque* thus becoming *nec*, *atque ac* (for *\*atc*) (cf. Skutsch, *Forsch.* I, p. 151). Even in cases where a vowel can be made out to have been originally long, as the final *-a* of *vila*, etc., if it can be shown to be invariably short in contemporary poetry, it is very questionable whether a traditional prosody can be allowed to it in a Saturnian line, e. g. v. 22:

Quoiei uita defecit non honos honore,

in the latest Saturnian epitaph of a Scipio, c. 130 B. C. Another rock on which the older form of the quantitative theory is shattered is the treatment of a word like *facile* in v. 17, *subigit* in v. 12:

Facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum.

Subigit omne Loucanam opsidesque abducsit,

for the scansion of the tribrachs *fácilē, sūbigit* as iambi, i. e. with the metrical ictus on the second syllable, violates one of the elementary laws of Early Latin metre. Neither Plautus, nor Terence, nor, as we have seen, any of the early poets, allow so violent a conflict of verse-ictus with the natural accent of the word as *gētra, fácilē, subigit*. The last champion of the quantitative theory, Dr. Reichardt, follows one of the two possible ways of avoiding these scansions. He supports the theory that in Saturnian metre every final syllable might be treated as an arsis. This, I must confess, seems to me something very like a yielding of the point at issue. If the quantity of a syllable matters so very little in Saturnian verse that any short final syllable may assume the part of a long syllable, the natural inference is that the quantity of syllables, at any rate of final (i. e. unaccented) syllables, is not the main factor in the Saturnian metre. A feature of this kind would mark it off clearly and decidedly from the quantitative metre of all contemporary poetry. Ennius may, no doubt, allow a short final syllable now and then in penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesura to play the part of a long syllable, as in the line (Ann. 85)

Sic exspectabat populus atque ora tenebat,

but in this licence he is most probably imitating his Greek models (see Klotz, *Altröm. Metrik*, p. 100 sqq.), an imitation which cannot be supposed possible for the original framers of Saturnian verse; and in any case, the instances in his poems are so few and far between that they cannot for a moment be seriously quoted in support of Dr. Reichardt, whose own reckoning acknowledges no less than 63 cases of a short final used as an arsis in 127 lines, as against 66 cases of a naturally long final (Reichardt, l. c., p. 234). The only escape from the difficulty, so far as I can see, is the method adopted by Dr. Zander in his book *Versus Italici Antiqui* (Lund, 1890). Following indications of a tendency to alternation of metre in such proverbial maxims as

hibérno puluere lútō uerno

grándia farra Camílle metes,

with anapaestic followed immediately by dactylic rhythm, he uses this support for the theory that trochaic might be substituted at will for iambic rhythm in Saturnian poetry, and *vice versa*. The lines in question might accordingly be scanned *Rúncus álque Porpúreus*, etc., *Fácilē fácteís superases*, etc. This, I take it, is the quantitative treatment of these hemistichs which is most worth discussing, so violently do the other scansion jar against all those usages of Plautine versification which we can claim to be native Latin usages and not derived from the Greek. How can we tolerate *atquē, isquē* when we see Plautus so chary of giving any weight at all to final -ē that he prefers to elide it, or even to suppress it by syncope before an initial consonant, than to allow it of itself to constitute a thesis? What parallel can we find for *susūm ad caelum*, unless it be that unique scansion of Ennius, Ann. 275 *inimicitiam agitanter*, a scansion which is admittedly one of that poet's eccentric experiments in versification, to be ranked with his *cere comminuit brum*, and the like?<sup>1</sup> And, most important of all, while Plautus shows a marked repugnance to the incidence of the metrical ictus on the final syllable of spondaic words and endings, the quantitative theory in its usual form requires this discordant clash of ictus and accent in an overwhelming majority of Saturnian lines. I cannot believe that any one who reads through a play of Plautus, paying attention to the incidence of the metrical ictus and, in general, to the rhythmical cadence of the lines, will ever bring himself to accept first hemistichs like *Subigít omnē Loucánam, Runcús alqué Porpúreus, Ne quáiratis honóre*, etc.

<sup>1</sup>Havet (Rev. Phil. 1892) reads *inimicitiam carinantes*.

But even the modified quantitative theory, which scans these hemistichs in their natural manner, will be found to break down in the second half of lines like vv. 92, 93:

Deinde pollens sagittis || inclutus Arquitenens,  
Sanctus Delphis prognatus || Pythius Apollo.

For if, to avoid the scansion *inclū|tūs Ar|quitenens*, we substitute iambic for trochaic rhythm, this will involve the metrical accentuation *inclūtūs, Pythiūs*, an incidence of ictus which, as we have just seen, is avoided by the dramatists. And yet it would have to occur very frequently in the Saturnian lines, e. g. 50 *insēcē uersutum*, 64 *uirginēm oraret*, 123 *capitibūs opertis*, etc. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the anapaestic metres of Plautus (Terence never uses these, I fancy, because he considered them unsuitable to the Latin language) this harsh ictus, *inclūtus, pectōra*, etc., is in use, so that the quantitative scheme might possibly obtain an acquittal on this score. A more serious charge remains, namely, that, even if we allow *inclūtus*, etc., we have still a syllable too few in the half-line: *inclūtus | Arquite|nens, Pythius | Apól|lo, insēce | uersū|tum*, etc. The quantitative school generally gets over a difficulty of this sort by their theory of occasional 'suppression of a thesis'; but it is hard to see how this could with any likelihood be posited for a word like *Apollo*. Zander himself prefers the violent remedy of declaring vv. 92-3 to be corrupt, and reads

Dēin pollēns sagittis || inclūtusque Arquitenens  
Sanctūs Iouē Dēli || Pýthiūs prognátus  
Apóllo,

while in v. 50 he scans *insece* as a (trochaic) dactyl, and supposes a thesis to be suppressed after the first syllable of the last word: *insece | uēr|sūtum*, hereby violating another law of dramatic metre, which does not allow a dactylic word to represent a single (trochaic) foot in trochaic verse.

One of the latest, and in my opinion the best, statements of the accentual theory is by Prof. Thurneysen, in his book entitled *Der Saturnier* (Halle, 1885). After showing the *à priori* improbability that the native metre of the Romans could have been, unlike that of other Indo-European peoples and like that of the Greeks (whose pitch-accent differed entirely from the stress-accent of the Romans), a quantitative metre, he points out the traces of the continuous existence of accentual poetry at Rome, as in the rude

songs of soldiers at triumphs, etc., from the earliest times till the period of Christianity, when the accentual metre of the poor man became the metre of the Church and the nation. Then he expands in detail his scheme of Saturnian versification, viz. that the lines are scanned according to accent, without regard to quantity, the first half-line having 3 accents, the first of which falls always on the first syllable of the line, the second having 2 accents, e. g.

Dábunt | málum | Metélli || Naéuio | poétae.

Secondary accents were, he supposes, necessarily reckoned in words of 5 syllables and more, in all parts of the line; in 4-syllabled words of the form  $- \cup - \cup$  or  $\cup - \cup \cup$ , only at the beginning of the line, or at the end of the first hemistich; in 4-syllabled words of the form  $\cup \cup - \cup$  or  $\cup \cup \cup -$ , only at the beginning of the line. Trisyllables never show a secondary accent, nor, of course, dissyllables. This theory of the existence of a secondary accent is, we have seen, confirmed by the evidence of Plautine versification, so far as that goes, and by other considerations. With regard to Thurneysen's distinctions of words whose secondary accent was, and was not, regarded in Saturnian verse, it is natural enough that 5-syllabled words should have had so strongly marked a by-accent that it asserted itself on all occasions in the versification. It is natural too that of quadrisyllabic words a word like *immolābat* should have the by-accent more distinct than a word like *sūbigūntur*, possibly too, as we have seen, a word like *primārium* than a word like *Mercūrius*. But there does not seem to be any essential reason why *immolabat*, *primarium* should display their two accents at the end of the first hemistich any more than at the beginning or end of the second;<sup>1</sup> and if this really was the rule of Saturnian writers, it must be regarded as an arbitrary rule, not based on the actual facts of pronunciation. On the other hand, the rule which makes all these 4-syllabled words exhibit their secondary as well as their main accent at the beginning of the line may have such a basis, for a word at the beginning of a line or sentence would ordinarily have more prominence given to it than in the middle of the sentence. If we apply these rules to the extant lines we shall find that the

<sup>1</sup> Neither of these types of quadrisyllables occurs at the end of a line (see note on v. 88), where the other two types are common, always with one accent only. Notice the order in vv. 3 and 7: *Luciōm Scipione*, but *Corneliū Lucius*.



rule about 5-syllabled words is probably never broken (see notes on vv. 5, 31, 43, 95), and so with the rule about 4-syllabled words when they come first in the line. But for the double accentuation of words of the form  $\bar{\text{—}}\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}$  in other parts of the line than the beginning, the only strong instances are v. 45 *còmplūrimae*, v. 46 *prīmārium*, whose first syllables alliterate with neighboring words, and would receive extra stress on that account (see notes on vv. 41, 42, 97, 99), and of words of the type  $\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}\text{—}$ , only v. 3 *Scipiōne* (a proper name, and so more or less 'supra leges'); while a double accentuation might possibly be claimed for choriambic words ( $\text{—}\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}$ ) in vv. 31 *auspicio*, 127 *arquitenens*. There is only one certain instance of a choriambic word at the beginning of a line, v. 71 *Mercūrius* (cf. v. 89 *Silvicolae*), and only one (doubtful) instance of an Ionic a Minore word, v. 59 *Ibidemque*. After what was said above about Plautus' accentuation of *fācilius*, etc., it is clear that Thurneysen is wrong in extending the possibility of a secondary accent to words of the type  $\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}\bar{\text{—}}$ . But on reference to the extant lines it will be found that the only instance of a word of this form at the beginning of a line is v. 40, a line of the very unmetrical inscription of the Faliscan *collegium cocorum* in Sardinia:

Opiparum ad ueitam quolundam festosque dies,

and here the metre, such as it is, requires *ōpiparum* rather than *ōpīparum*.

His rule that the first syllable of each line has the natural accent may appear at first sight to be broken by v. 113 *Plerique omnes subiguntur*, etc., but, as before remarked, the metrical treatment of the phrase in Plautus and Terence signally vindicates him, pointing as it does to the pronunciation *plērīqu(e)-ōmnes*. In perhaps every other case the first syllable of the line is admitted by all to be a syllable accented in ordinary pronunciation (see notes on vv. 1, 119), either with the main accent or, according to the rules just laid down, with a secondary accent. A Saturnian line never begins with a trisyllable of a form that would naturally take the accent on the second syllable, e. g. *Metēlli, poētae* (see notes on vv. 2, 21, 119); and this is surely a fact that conflicts most markedly with the quantitative treatment of the first hemistich as an iambic dimeter. The iambic lines of the dramatists begin, as is naturally to be expected, with such trisyllables again and again; in the first scene of the *Miles*, for example, v. 1 *Curāte*, v. 4 *Praestringat*, v. 29 *Contsus*, v. 39 *Facēte*, v. 40 *Nouisse*, v. 41

*Curámque*, v. 44 *Triginta*, v. 57 *Uirtute*, v. 72 *Uidetur*, v. 74 *Latrones*. Why, then, should we not have this beginning in these so-called iambic dimeters? Why have we not, for example, the perf. *subegit* in v. 12 *Subigit omne Loucanam*, to suit the other perfects *cepit* and *abdoucsit* (this, and not *abdoucit*, is on the stone)? Evidently because not the second but the first syllable of the line had to be the accented syllable. The same consideration may well have led in v. 4 to the departure from the natural order 'aedile, consul, censor,' the order observed in the prose Scipio epitaph (C. I. L. I 31): *aidiles cosol cesor*. Thurneysen's other rule, that the first half of the line has exactly three, the second half exactly two accents, depends for its verification on the laws for the accentuation of the sentence and for the fusion of subordinate words into word-groups, which prevailed in the pronunciation of the time. These I have attempted to discover from the laws stated by the grammarians of the Empire, from the evidence of Romance and other languages, and from the versification of the early dramatists. It will be seen, when we examine the lines in detail, an examination which I reserve for the next section, that every line obeys this rule except v. 142, the last line of the so-called Epitaph of Naevius, and this line will be discussed later.

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## II.—ON RECENT STUDIES IN HINDU GRAMMAR.

Nine years ago (in October, 1884) I published in this Journal a paper entitled "The study of Hindu grammar and the study of Sanskrit." It was intended to emphasize the difference between Sanskrit on the one side and Pāṇini with his successors on the other, and to point out the true place of the native grammar as an important division of Sanskrit science, requiring to be studied as such, and not as the foundation of our knowledge of the Sanskrit language. Since that time there have appeared a number of contributions to our knowledge of the Hindu grammar, from the pens of two younger scholars of decided ability, then unknown; and these contributions I propose to examine briefly, especially in order to see how they stand related to the question above set forth.

The first of them appeared in 1885, and was entitled "The case-system of the Hindu grammarians, compared with the use of the cases in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa"; it was a doctorate-dissertation by Bruno Liebich; the author is at present a *privat-docent* in the Breslau University. Its first part, printed in vol. X of Bezzenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, was a digest of the system of rules laid down by Pāṇini for the use of the cases, and was very welcome, as must be every contribution to an easier understanding of the peculiarities and difficulties of the Hindu science. A few words as to the system may not be out of place here. Pāṇini does not take up the cases as forms of nouns, setting forth the various uses of each, after our manner; he adopts the vastly more difficult and dangerous method of establishing a theoretical list of modes of verb-modification by case, or of ideal case-relations (he calls them *kāraka*, 'factor' or 'adjunct'), to which he then distributes the cases. Almost as a matter of course, however, his case-relations or *kāraka* are not an independent product of his logical faculty, but simply a reflection of the case-forms; they are of the same number as the latter, and each corresponds to the general sphere of a case: they are *kartar* ('actor' = nominative), *karman* ('act' = accusative), *sampradāna* ('delivery' = dative), *kaṛaṇa* ('instru-

ment' = instrumental), *adhikaraṇa* ('sphere' = locative), and *apādāna* ('removal' = ablative). The genitive has no defined character, but is provided for by stating, when all the other case-uses have been rehearsed, that the remainder are those of the genitive. As for the definitions of the case-relations, it may suffice to say that the *karman* is described as belonging, first, to that which the actor in his action especially desires to obtain or attain (as in "he makes a *mat*," "he goes to the *village*"); or, second, to that which, though itself undesired or indifferent, is connected with the action in a similar manner. Anything more crude or unphilosophical than this could not well be imagined. There is not an identity between the use of a given case and the presence of its generally corresponding case-relation, because, for example, in a passive sentence, as "the mat is made by him," *mat* is still called *karman* or 'act,' though nominative, and *him* still *kartar* or 'actor,' though instrumental. Thus there is no recognition of the grammatical category of subject of a verb; and this leads, as could not be helped, to numerous obscurities and difficulties. Then, in the second part of the paper (*ibid.*, vol. XI, 1887), the author proceeds to classify under this scheme, in all its headings and sub-headings, its general rules and its exceptions, the facts of case-use in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*: a careful and creditable piece of work. The results of the comparison are precisely what we should expect to find them, knowing well, as we do, the relation of the language of the *Brāhmaṇas* to Pāṇini's Sanskrit: there is a good degree of general agreement—as there would have been found to exist even if the *Rig-Veda* instead of a *Brāhmaṇa* had been compared; since changes of syntactical construction, perhaps even more than changes of form, are of slow progress in every language, leaving the main body of older usages long untouched. Alongside of this agreement are met with just the differences that could not fail to appear: constructions in the *Brāhmaṇa* that are unnoticed in Pāṇini, as they are wanting in classical Sanskrit; and especially a host of details in Pāṇini of which the *Brāhmaṇa* exhibits no examples. There is absolutely nothing to show, or even to give reason to suspect, that any special relation exists between Pāṇini and this *Brāhmaṇa* any more than any other of the same class of works, specimens alike of the *Brāhmaṇa* stage of development of ancient Indian language. The conclusion is that, whatever its defects of theory, Pāṇini's case-syntax proves to be a fairly good practical scheme; and the

demonstration of the fact is to be received with thanks; it is a valuable contribution to our appreciation of the great grammarian. Whether, however, the author views it in just this light is a little questionable; for he adds as second title to his essay "a contribution to the syntax of the Sanskrit language"—which it plainly is not. Is it, forsooth, the *Brāhmaṇa* that he has been examining, to see whether its case-constructions are such as they ought to be? or is this part of its grammar now better understood than hitherto, or arranged in a manner which we shall be disposed to accept as preferable to, for example, Delbrück's? Nothing of all this; it is simply that Pāṇini has been tested by a bit of real language, and the test has turned out not to his disadvantage. The misapprehension that something done for Pāṇini is done for the Sanskrit language is precisely what my former paper was especially intended to discourage.

Dr. Liebich adds at the end his own estimate of the results of his work: "1. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* is older than Pāṇini." This were better stated the other way: namely, that Pāṇini is later than the *Brāhmaṇa*; since it is really the grammarian, and not this member of the literature, that is under examination. As for the relation itself, it is not only true, but a truism; no one having any knowledge of the subject has or could have any question about it; our author's paper is not a demonstration, but merely an illustration, out of one department of grammar, of a fact already incontrovertibly established on many and sufficient grounds. The author adds as follows: "It [the *Brāhmaṇa*] belongs to the Vedic period, but to the close of the latter, and stands fairly near to Pāṇini (undoubtedly much nearer than to the *Rig-Veda* in the other direction)." Here again we have truths, but, since there has been no comparison made between *Brāhmaṇa* and *Veda* in the paper, they are incorrectly put forward as its "results." Further, "2. The doctrine of Pāṇini reposes upon a careful and acute observation of the actual language." Here it is a little doubtful where the stress of the assertion lies, and what counter-proposition is intended to be gainsaid. No one, certainly, would think of denying that Pāṇini observed and described with remarkable acuteness and to the best of his ability. Nor, again, I should think, that he described an actual language—"an" rather than "the," for just what language he was dealing with is one of the disputed points. The author's added remarks indicate that he thinks it a book-language; if anything in the rules is not



capable of being instanced, it is, he suggests, because so much of the literature has been lost. This seems an untenable view, and has doubtless been since abandoned by him. The question will come up again further on.

Four years later (1890), in the same Journal (XVI 1-2), a kindred topic is taken up by another scholar, Dr. R. Otto Franke, now a *privat-docent* in the Berlin University. The title of his paper is "The case-system of Pāṇini compared with the use of the cases in Pāli and in the Aśoka inscriptions." He builds upon the foundation laid by Liebich, adopting the latter's scheme of Paninean case-uses, and looking for correspondences to them in the dialects confessedly later than Pāṇini, as the Brāhmaṇa was confessedly earlier. Here also he finds all the agreement that could reasonably have been expected; and, as the ground has been comparatively little worked over, his work is much more truly a contribution to the syntax of the dialects of India than is that of Liebich. He brings to light one very curious thing: that for a problematic rule of Pāṇini's, declaring the future tense to be usable in describing something recently past, examples are quotable from the Pāli, though they have never been discovered in Sanskrit. But his general views as to Pāṇini and the Sanskrit seem rather strange. He calls Liebich's little work "a beginning toward the accomplishment of the very pressing task of determining by internal evidence Pāṇini's position in the literature, and so, indirectly, that of the Sanskrit"—as if nobody, before the appearance of this doctorate-dissertation, had done anything worthy of mention in that direction; or as if the position of Pāṇini's Sanskrit in the history of development of Indian language had not long been clear enough. And he points out that, in spite of the partial agreement between the case-uses in the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and Pāṇini's rules, we ought not to conclude that the Brāhmaṇa was the exclusive, or even the principal, foundation of the rules—as if it could ever enter into the mind of any reasonable person to draw such a conclusion. He then gives us the same warning in regard to the Pāli, which is even, if possible, more superfluous. He further admits it as possible, though on the whole less probable, that Pāṇini may have "collected the phenomena of very diverse dialects, and fused them together into an integral whole"—than which nothing could well find less to be said in its favor.

But to the question as to what the Sanskrit of Pāṇini really is the same author returns in a special paper entitled "What is

Sanskrit?", dated in November, 1889 (though first published in vol. XVII, 1891, of Bezzenberger's *Beiträge*). Rather more than half the paper is occupied with the more specific inquiry as to what Pāṇini means by *bhāṣā*, a word that he uses only seven times, or too seldom to set forth its significance with the desirable clearness. 'Popular speech' is its natural sense; but the usages quoted from it by Pāṇini as opposed to his own approved language show that it was no Prakritic dialect (that is the chief result of the author's investigation); and it is as evidently not one of the older Vedic dialects; there seems to remain, then, only one possibility: it is essentially Sanskrit, only not what Pāṇini accepts as good Sanskrit; it includes those words and phrases which, though more or less current, he does not regard as worthy to be perpetuated. This conclusion appears to be a reasonable and safe one.<sup>1</sup> The second half of the paper then deals more directly with the inquiry as to what Pāṇini's Sanskrit really is; and the author's opinion is expressed in these terms (pp. 75-76): "Pāṇini's Sanskrit is accordingly in the main *bhāṣā*. And yet, on the other hand, it is neither *bhāṣā* nor a living language." This is not particularly clear; nor is it made very much clearer by the reasonings, and the quotations of the views of others, that follow. It is to me so strange as fairly to be called unaccountable that these authors take no notice whatever of the evidence of the dramas upon the subject. In the latter we see a condition of society in which educated people talk Sanskrit, while the uneducated talk Prākṛit, in dialects more or less different from one another. So far as I can perceive, there is not any reason to question that this state of things was real at the time when those dramas were produced which then set the rule for all future time. The speakers all understand one another; the difference between Sanskrit and Prākṛit is not yet sufficient to prevent that; the Prākṛit-speakers can even, in an emergency, put in a phrase of Sanskrit; and, on the other hand, when King Purūravas goes mad, he casts off the restraints of education, and talks in part Prākṛit, like a woman. That, now, is just the present character of Sanskrit: an educated or learned dialect, kept in existence, nearly unchanged, by instruction, by learned and literary use, among languages now become so diverse from it that its knowledge is confined to a very small circle; such, too, has been its

<sup>1</sup> It is, however, rejected by Liebich, in his 'Kāçikā' (p. xxv), to be described further on. Liebich suggests no substitute.

character for at least two thousand years, while the true vernaculars have been growing further and further away from it; and such must unquestionably have been its character at the outset, when their divergence, and its separate life, first began. That it was itself originally a vernacular seems to me a matter of course; nor do I see that any one has the right to say that Pāṇini's speech was not a living one, unless he then enters into a full explanation of what he means by a living language as distinguished from it. Sanskrit was the natural successor of the dialects of Veda, Brāhmaṇa, and Sūtra, and as much "living" as any of these had been, when the literary and learned class took it in hand, and, with the aid of grammatical science, fortified it against the further effect of the changes that were bringing out of it the various Prakritic dialects (taking that word in its widest sense). There is no absolute line to be drawn between living and dead languages. If the Sanskrit has never failed of being kept up by a constant tradition from teacher to pupil, though in a limited class, there is a real sense in which it has never died, but is still a living tongue. In another and equally correct sense, no language is alive that is not an out-and-out vernacular, spoken by a whole community, and having no inferior dialect below it in the same community; in this sense, to be sure, the Sanskrit of the series of grammarians of whom Pāṇini was the chief and virtually the last was not a fully living tongue; it had Prakritic dialects under it. Moreover, as soon as it took on the character of a learned dialect, it began as a matter of course to be stiffened into something a little unnatural; no dialect ever fell into the hands of grammarians without suffering from their pedantry. But I can find no reason whatever for supposing that it was not their own language, the language which they themselves spoke and which they thought alone worthy to be spoken by others, that they set themselves to describe. Whatever Pāṇini's special original part in the work may have been, we know that he left it still abounding in errors, both of omission and of commission; the important additions and corrections of Kātyāyana and Patanjali, to say nothing of their numerous but more insignificant successors, amply prove this; and it is frankly conceded in many points by these latest students of the system, unlike the scholars of a generation or two ago. The task Pāṇini attempted was beyond the power of mortal man to accomplish, especially in the form adopted by him—which is one that no sensible man should ever have chosen, yet on account of which,

it is very likely, his contemporaries and successors especially admired him, and made him their supreme authority.

Something like this, in my opinion, is what we have a right to say that we know about Pāṇini; and the investigations of Liebhich and Franke, while they bring nothing to light that contradicts it, merely illustrate here and there a point in it, and do not add notably to its amount, because they ignore it all, and assume that the most fundamental facts involved have still to be established. What we really need further is added precision on a host of points as to which we have as yet only general knowledge, and particularly a comprehension of how the grammatical system, in all its details, stands related to the language of the Sanskrit classical literature, which professes to be governed by it, and yet has evidently had a traditional life of its own, simply regulated by the grammar, and has by no means been produced under the latter's dictation. To ask and answer, in all seriousness, such questions as whether a certain Brāhmaṇa, or whether the Pāli, is Pāṇini's Sanskrit, or whether that language was a living one, appears to me the wrong way to arrive at any valuable result.

In his conspectus of the views of various scholars as to the character of Sanskrit, given in the second part of his paper, Dr. Franke quotes with approval and acceptance an old expression of opinion by Weber, made at the very outset of his career, to the effect that "the development of Sanskrit and of the Prakrit dialects out of their common source, the Indo-Aryan mother-tongue, went on with absolute contemporaneousness (*vollständig gleichzeitig*)."

But I do not see why this is not an unscientific and untenable proposition. For example, *pakkhitta* and *attā* or *appā* are not contemporaneous with *prakṣipta* and *ātmā* in the historical development of language, any more than Ital. *rotto* and *rotti* with Lat. *ruptus*, *-um* in their various case-forms; and so *hodu* is preceded in point of time by *bhavatu*, being a later "corruption" of the latter, coming to take its place, as Fr. *était* of *stabat*, or *fûtes* of *fuistis*. And this is true of the great mass of Prakrit words, forms, and constructions; they are developed later than, and come to be substituted for, the corresponding Sanskrit words, forms, and constructions. If there were anything to be found on Indian ground that is earlier than *prakṣipta*, and from which it and *pakkhitta* should have equally descended by a parallel process, then we might have a right to speak of their contemporaneity; but that is plainly not the case; it is the



Sanskrit forms themselves, and not something older and more primitive than Sanskrit, that the Prākṛit words presuppose; they have passed through the stage which the Sanskrit represents. That here and there exceptions are met with, altered items for which the original is not found in Sanskrit, or is found in Vedic Sanskrit, is without any force whatever as against the great mass of material of a contrary character; such exceptions to the descent *in toto* of one dialect from another are the rule in all dialectic history, and might with equal justice be relied on to prove that Italian and French are in their development "absolutely contemporaneous" with Latin. As the other half or side of the view already quoted, Dr. Franke adds: "That the Sanskrit had become extinct when the Prākṛit dialects first began to develop themselves is false." What this means is quite unintelligible; it seems to go out of the way to deny a doctrine which no well-informed student of language could by any possibility think of maintaining, and it accordingly has no claim to be criticized, but must be simply set aside as valueless. If, for example, *ātmā* had ever become extinct, whence should *attā* or *appā* have originated? Who would say that the egg had been extinct when the chicken first began to develop itself? But, somehow or other, those whose ancestors had said *ātmā* began to say *attā* instead, the one pronunciation passing into the other, with no extinction intervening. It was, however, only a part of the community who did thus; a part, doubtless much the smaller one, continued to say *ātmā*; and the two forms went on in currency side by side, as educated and as popular speech, in the same way as in many cases elsewhere in the world; and *ātmā* was Sanskrit, and, with some help and some mishandling on the part of grammarians, has maintained itself in being to this day, in the literature which we call Sanskrit, and which, rather than the grammarians' treatment of it, is the true and proper object of the study of the Sanskrit scholar.

Next was produced by Dr. Liebich, in 1891, a valuable collection of studies entitled "Pāṇini: a contribution to the knowledge of Indian literature and grammar"; it makes a small octavo volume of 164 pages. The first study, or chapter, deals with Pāṇini's period; the author reviews briefly the opinions that have been held by different scholars respecting the matter, and, without attempting to bring any new evidence to bear upon it, comes to the moderate and sensible conclusion that only a certain degree



of probability can be arrived at: "after Buddha and before Christ" represents to him the measure of this probability. The second chapter treats of the principal later grammarians who have continued and modified Pāṇini's work; in regard to the earliest and most important of them the same chronological uncertainty prevails. The third is entitled "Pāṇini and the remaining literature," and is an attempt to determine where in the succession of the ancient literature of India, from the earliest Veda down, Pāṇini comes in. It takes as starting-point the wild views of Goldstücker, with their refutation by Weber; it points out further the insufficiency of the evidences relied upon for the prevailing opinion that Yāska is earlier than Pāṇini; and it then proceeds to its principal task, of applying to the general question a new, a numerical-statistical, method of solution. The author counts off, namely, a thousand personal verb-forms occurring in succession in each of four different monuments of the literature—the Aitareya-Brahmaṇa, the Brhad-Aranyaka, two Gṛhya-Sūtras (Aṣṭalāyana and Pāraskara), and the Bhagavad-Gītā: representatives respectively of the Brāhmaṇa, Upanishad or later Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, and epic stages of development of Indian speech—and then applies to them the rules of the grammar, to see how many and what forms unauthorized by Pāṇini appear in the several texts. The examination is creditable to the industry and learning of its author, and its results are interesting; we can hardly go further than that and pronounce them important. For they are essentially illustrative only; they put in a numerical form peculiarities which were already familiarly known to characterize the different classes of works instanced. Not a new item, so far as I can see, is brought to light; nor is any made more certain than before. Thus, six of the seven classes of Brāhmaṇa divergencies drawn out on pages 23-4 have long been recognized as such; and how many examples of each class may chance to occur in a given amount of text is a matter of indifference. As for the seventh, represented by a single case, the lengthened final of the imperative *kṛdhi*, it is an error; such a protraction does not belong to the Brāhmaṇa language, as, indeed, it has no right of occurrence anywhere except in verse; where it appears here (ii 2. 21), it is simply copied from the Rig-Veda verse (i 36. 14) on which the Brāhmaṇa is engaged in commenting, and of which it repeats a whole *pāda* (including *kṛdhi*) with merely the substitution of the more regular *caraṇāya* for *carathāya* in it; and the retention of the *i* is not improbably even

a misreading, such as this Brāhmaṇa has in no very small number (it may be added that the author, doubtless misled by Pāṇini, describes *kr̥dhi* falsely as a present instead of an aorist imperative). And so also in each of the remaining cases. That is to say, the matter is not one to which the numerical method of investigation is well suited; this would be much better applied between, for example, different texts of the same class, as different Brāhmaṇas, to see whether it would yield any evidence as to their respective periods; and perhaps the part of the whole investigation which is of most value is the comparison which it makes possible between Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and Bṛhad-Araṇyaka, the latter being part of a Brāhmaṇa also, but plainly later, as was a matter of course for an Upanishad. Instead, again, of the Bhagavad-Gītā, which no one doubts to be a comparatively recent addition to the Mahābhārata, it were much to be wished that the author had selected something out of those parts of the epic which are most probably to be regarded as its original nucleus, in order to cast more light upon the really difficult and hitherto doubtful question how and how much the epic differs from the classical or Paninean Sanskrit, and why. That Brāhmaṇa and Upanishad and Sūtra antedate Pāṇini we knew just as certainly before this investigation was made as we know it now; the posteriority of the Bhagavad-Gītā, again, could hardly have been questioned, however the case may stand with the earliest epic. The criteria applied to the divergences of the Gītā from grammatical strictness are of a less satisfactory and decisive character. The decided majority (21 against 16) of the irregularities concern the voice of the verb; but, though the looseness of at least the later epic in this regard is certainly excessive, it is likely that Pāṇini's rules limiting the employment of the voices are exceptionally artificial and discordant with genuine usage; our author himself so judges examples of them (e. g., p. 28) in connection with the Brāhmaṇa. As for the causative perfects with *āsa* (3 in number), Pāṇini's failure to authorize them must be either an oversight or a piece of pedantry. And *ḡucas*, since this aorist occurs in Veda and Brāhmaṇa, might be deemed a sign rather of antiquity than of modern date. The harvest of results from the chapter, then, must be confessed a rather scanty one.

In the sixth and seventh chapters the author returns to the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa and the Bṛhad-Araṇyaka, in order to see whether any difference of period can be established among their

constituent parts. Here again is, as in the particular noted above, a good and suitable application of the statistical method, and it leads to trustworthy and interesting conclusions. In the Aranyaka are discovered no notable indications of diversity of age; but in the Brāhmaṇa the author finds good reason to believe, as had been inferred by others before him, that the concluding chapters are more modern than the rest.

Between the parts of the volume devoted to the first and to the second examination of these two works intervene a couple of chapters, of which the former, the fourth, is headed "Pāṇini's relation to the language of India"—that is to say, the relation of Pāṇini's Sanskrit to the other dialects. The chapter is chiefly composed of a succinct statement of the views of other scholars, to which the author then appends his own view; and this is simply a summary of what he has illustrated in the preceding chapters as the relation between Pāṇini's dialect and the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra on the one side and the epic on the other. Then (p. 50) he appends as final result a wholly new and original classification of the entire body of dialects of India. They are divided into three categories: pre-classical, classical, and post-classical. To the classical division are referred, besides "the doctrine of Pāṇini," the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras also, which the author has himself previously recognized as pre-Paninean! this leaves as pre-classical only "the saṃhitās of the four Vedas." But the third division, the post-classical, is still more wonderfully constructed: besides the "independent" epic, it contains the whole literature which we have been accustomed to know as Sanskrit, namely "Kālidāsa, etc., originated under the influence of the grammar"! What is left to constitute the classical subdivision "b. Doctrine of Pāṇini" is very obscure; it can be only Pāṇini's grammar itself (so that such sentences as *idamo rhiḥ, gāṅkuṭā-dibhyo 'ṇinñit* are classical, as contrasted with Kālidāsa's compositions), and in addition all the works that might, could, would, or should have been written in strict accordance with it, and not merely "under its influence," if there only were any such. Now I had myself, in my former paper, laid stress on the difference between the purely hypothetical "grammarians' Sanskrit" and the Sanskrit of the literature; but I never went so far as to maintain, with Dr. Liebich, that the two even belonged to different prime divisions of the whole history of language in India (thus, II. b. grammarians' Sanskrit; III. b. Sanskrit of the literature).

Just half our author's volume (pp. 82-161) is occupied by two studies which are reckoned as Appendix I and Appendix II. The one is a digest of the teachings of the native grammar (Pāṇini, the Mahābhāṣya, and the Kāçikā) respecting the voice-inflection of the verbal roots, as active or middle or both; the other is a similar digest for the formation of feminine declension-stems from the corresponding masculines. These two appendixes constitute, in my opinion, the substantially valuable part of the volume; they exemplify what needs to be done for all the various subjects included in Pāṇini's treatise. The next step, now, should be to compare in detail the statements thus drawn out with the actual facts of the language as exhibited in the whole series of monuments of the literature, from Vedic down to classical and epic, in order to determine what is the relation between the two, and then what the former, the prescriptions of the grammar, are worth; until that is done, no contribution has yet been made to our knowledge of the language, but only to our knowledge of Pāṇini. It casts a shade of unreality over the whole subject of voice-conjugation that the voices of the thousand or twelve hundred false roots are not less carefully defined by the *dhātupāṭha* than those of the eight or nine hundred genuine ones.

There is left for our consideration only the fifth chapter, in which the author takes up and attempts to answer my own objections, given in my paper of nine years ago, to the confusing of the study of Pāṇini with that of Sanskrit, and the thrusting of the grammarians' dialect into the place in our attention which the real language of the recorded literature ought to occupy. I propose to examine here this reply, and see how effective it is.

Dr. Liebich's first point is, as was my own, the *dhātupāṭha*, or list of roots, which is given as part of the material of the grammar, and really even its foundation, since it is upon them that the rules of the grammar profess to go on and build up the structure of the language—and that not only grammatically but lexically, for the grammar includes the system of derivation, with definition of the modifications wrought in each root-sense and stem-sense by the added suffixes. On this point the author offers a criticism which he is obliged himself to withdraw in the next paragraph: he first accuses me of treating Pāṇini rather unfairly, since the *dhātupāṭha* was the part of his work most likely to be deformed by later corruptions; but then allows that I was perhaps (as is indeed plainly the case) criticizing the whole system of the grammarians



as it lies before us, of which the list of roots objected to forms undeniably an inseparable part. Böhtlingk gives it in length and breadth in his recent second edition of Pāṇini, finding nothing else to put in its place; and it must have gone hard with him, who knows what in Sanskrit is real and what is sham better than almost any other living scholar, and who has in the Petersburg lexicons done more than any one else to make plain their distinction, to introduce into his work such a mass of worthless rubbish; I hardly comprehend how he should have prevailed on himself to do this without exercising his critical acumen upon it, and separating in some way the false from the true. Our author talks of probable interpolations, and intimates that he deems them posterior to the great trio of Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patanjali, acknowledging that my criticisms may be "more or less" applicable to their successors. Well, I should think so; and more rather than less. This free and easy way of disposing of the subject is quite characteristic of the whole guild of partizans of the native grammar. It appears impossible to bring any one of them to stand up and face fairly the question of the *dhātupāṭha*. There are not far from nine hundred real authenticable roots in Sanskrit. We could believe that the uncritical interpolations of later grammarians might add to this number a dozen, or a score, or fifty, or (to take the extreme) even a hundred or two; but it is the wildest of nonsense (only strong expressions suit the case) to hold that they could swell the number to over two thousand! Such increase is thus far wholly unexplained, perhaps forever unexplainable, and certainly most unpardonable; and until it is in some way accounted for the admirers of the Hindu science of grammar ought to talk in very humble tones. If these roots are not the ones recognized by the wondrous three, when and under what circumstances and by whose influence were the additional twelve hundred foisted in, to the abandonment and loss of the old genuine list? The difficulty of explaining this seems not less great than that of supposing the whole two thousand as old as Pāṇini himself; both are hard enough; and, in either event, the taint of falsity attaches to the Hindu system as we know it and are expected to use it.

As concerns the three points of the middle periphrastic perfect, the middle precative, and the secondary passive forms, nothing that the author says tends to change at all the aspect of the case as stated by me: namely, that these are formations which, though



taught by Pāṇini, are wanting in the traditional literary language—as much so as verb-forms from the thousand and more false roots; they belong to the grammarians' Sanskrit alone. Just how much or how little excuse Pāṇini may have had for setting them up, that is a different and a minor question, to be decided finally by the general result of our examination of Pāṇini's way of working, of selecting what he will adopt and what he will reject. To me they seem artificial and pedantic structures, reared on an obsolete and insufficient or misapprehended basis.

The author's well-intended correction of my estimate of *prayoktāse* in TS. ii 6. 2<sup>a</sup> as 1st sing. I do not find myself able to accept. The sentence is not, perhaps, absolutely clear; but the presence in it of a *te* 'for thee' is to me a tolerably certain indication that the verb is not 2d sing. ('I will employ to-morrow for thee at the sacrifice,' or 'at thy sacrifice'); no such possessive would be called for (or admissible, I think) if the person were second. And *-tāse* is obviously the true middle analogue to active *-tāsmi*, as *ṣāse* to *ṣāsmi* and the like; while *-tāhe*, as given by the grammarians, is absolutely anomalous, being unsupported, so far as I know, by a single other phonetic fact of the language. That it occurs once (but only once) in the literature, in that very late Vedic document the Tāitt. Aranyaka, whose text is in many parts extremely faulty, is beyond question; but I would put forward the suggestion, as by no means an impossible one, that the form is corrupt, and that the 1st sing. *-tāhe* of the grammarians is founded solely on it. That the native commentary, it may be added, explains *prayoktāse* in TS. as 2d sing. is not of the smallest particle of importance; an expositor schooled in Pāṇini would of course do that, and is capable of doing it against the most incontrovertible evidence to the contrary.

Another matter which the author undertakes to defend against my objections is Pāṇini's determination of the cases where *dh* and where *ḍh* is to be used in the 2d plur. endings *dhvam* and *dhve*. He is so far successful that he is able to show the grammarians' rules to admit in part a different interpretation from that put upon them by the later Hindu authorities, and reported by the European grammars which follow these rather than the language itself. I was careful to allow for this possibility in so flagrant a case, putting in the caveat "if the Hindu grammarians are reported rightly by their European pupils (which in this instance is hard to believe)"; it now appears that a part of the reproach is capable of being

shifted from the shoulders of Pāṇini to those of his later interpreters. But only a part. Pāṇini uses in the first of his two rules one of his customary algebra-like signs, *iṇ*, which is ambiguous, signifying either simply the *i*- and *u*-vowels, or these together with the *r*- and *l*-vowels, the diphthongs, the semivowels, and *h*. But such an ambiguity is itself a palpable blot upon a system that claims to be so precise, and Pāṇini's successors are little to blame, comparatively, if they have chosen the wrong meaning. Then, further, it is and must be equally a matter of uncertainty whether this same *iṇ* is or is not to be carried over by implication from the first to the second rule; and this, again, is a characteristic and a pervading difficulty, running through Pāṇini's entire work, and, as I said in my former paper, involving "a condemnation of the whole mode of presentation of the system as a failure." What are the boasted terseness and exactness of the rules really worth, when in innumerable cases you cannot tell what they mean without first knowing what they ought to mean?—that is to say, when an acquaintance with the facts of the traditional language is necessary in order to the right interpretation of the grammar's *dictum* respecting them? The present is, at the best, a case where the interpreters have been too careless of the facts and the reasons of the facts.

But, whatever improved explanation we may apply to them, there is plenty left to object to in Pāṇini's rules. The 2d pl. precativ middle is plainly declared to end in *ṣidhvam* or in *ṣidhvam* according to what letters precede the *ṣ* (which might also be *s*); and this is senseless. If the ending is *-ṣidhvam*, it is so because the form is originally *-ṣi-ṣ-dhvam*, with the special precativ sibilant between mode-sign and personal ending, as in 2d and 3d sing., *-ṣi-ṣ-thās* and *-ṣi-ṣ-ta*; if it is, on the other hand, *-ṣidhvam*, this is because, as in 1st persons and 3d plur., no such sibilant is present, and the ending is originally *-ṣi-dhvam*; and no one can speak with certainty upon the point, because, as I have pointed out, not a single example of the form has been brought to light out of the literature, earlier or later (the probabilities are altogether in favor of *ṣi-ṣ-dhvam*, and so *-ṣidhvam*); but it is perfectly obvious that what precedes the *-ṣi-* has nothing to do with determining the matter, any more than with determining the presence or absence of the precativ sibilant in the 2d and 3d singular. It is equally plain that in the indicative of the *iṣ*-aorist we must always have *dhvam* (which the known texts also always

give), because *-idhvam* necessarily results from the combination *-iṣ-dhvam*, without any reference whatever to what may precede the *-iṣ-*; and the interpreters must regulate themselves accordingly, if they wish to save Pāṇini's credit. The author thinks he catches me in an error in saying, as concerns this point, that "all the quotable examples . . . are opposed to their rule," and brings up against me *astodhvam* etc. out of my grammar. But this only shows how carelessly or how unintelligently he has read my paper; for it is distinctly allowed there that the rule as given applies correctly to the *s*-aorist, and there is quoted the example *anedhvam* (from *aneṣ-dhvam*; by the way, this example and its like seem to show that *iṣ* in the rule requires to be taken in its wider sense): one of the striking things about the matter was that a prescription suiting well the one aorist had been wantonly extended to include the other, with which it had nothing to do, its application giving in every instance a different form from the theoretically correct one found occurring in the literature.

But Pāṇini undeniably takes the perfect also into his rule, making its 2d plur. ending to be *dhve* or *qhvē* under the same conditions as those laid down for the aorists. The impropriety of the combination and identical treatment of the two tenses is clear. The aorist has always at the end of the stem a lingual sibilant—*aneṣ-*, *apaviṣ-*—to exercise its euphonic influence upon the *dh* of the ending, while in the perfect there is none such. That is to say, none unless the endings *dhve* and *dhvam* are really by origin *sdhve* and *sdhvam*; and this is a doctrine which has found, and perhaps still possesses, some adherents. But it has no foundation whatever in the actual phenomena of Sanskrit, but solely in these blundering rules of the native grammar. Examples of the 2d plur. perfect, indeed, are of exceeding rarity; I am able at present to point to only a single one (*dadhidhve*, occurring twice in RV.) in the older language. But, if we are to recognize *sdhve* in the perfect, we plainly ought to recognize *sdhve* and *sdhvam* also in the present (indic., impv., and opt.) and imperfect; and then we should not meet with forms like *studhvam*, *jānīdhvam*, *bhavedhvam*, *akṛṇudhvam*, but with *studhvam* and so on. It appears, then, that the only way to save Pāṇini's reputation in the matter is to strike the syllable *liṭ* (meaning 'perfect') out of his rule, as ungenuine; and I would suggest that it was perhaps intruded by the same cunning hand that thrust into the *dhātupāṭha* more than a thousand false roots without being

detected or deterred; this latter trick was evidently by far the harder to execute.

But Dr. Liebich finds two other defenses to make (both on p. 58). For one thing, we are not justified in asking for a reason why *dhvam* should in certain cases be converted into *qhvam*. "As if," he exclaims, "we were able in any language whatever to trace everywhere the connection of cause and effect!" Begging his pardon, I assert that, on the contrary, in the combinations of stem and ending in Sanskrit euphony, we do not meet with any effect of which we may not look for a cause with good expectation of finding it. If we came anywhere upon a *qhvam* without a discoverable reason, we should question its correctness, and hold it probable that some one had blundered, that the text-tradition was corrupt, or the like. On the other hand, if, as is actually the case, we have no *qhvam* for which we cannot show a perfectly good reason (few as, unfortunately, the instances are), and no *qhve* at all, and can put against this only the assertion of Pāṇini and his successors and interpreters that such forms ought to occur without any reason, I submit that the sole acceptable conclusion must be that these grammarians, like grammarians everywhere else, have blundered, and need to be corrected.

Our author's remaining plea is one that, it must be confessed, gives a tinge of the comic to the whole discussion. The difference, he points out, between *dh* and *qh* is very slight, and it might be unfair to expect Pāṇini in every case to distinguish the one correctly from the other! That is to say, if Pāṇini prescribes a *qh* where there is no ground for one, it may be simply the fault of his ear, which caught the sound wrong. Now I have been accused, by the author and others, of insinuating depreciatory things about Pāṇini, but I certainly never went so far as this. If the great grammarian had too dull an ear to distinguish a lingual mute accurately from a dental (like the typical, or mythical, German, who cannot tell *t* and *d* apart), what are all his teachings worth that involve phonetic distinctions? The staff is broken over Pāṇini, and by one of his own partizans.

To conclude (after passing without notice the other points made by me; the most important was the grammarians' derivation of the reduplicated aorist from the causative stem instead of from the root directly), Dr. Liebich takes up my criticism of the Paninean classification of compounds, defending and extolling this classification; and he returns to the same subject, elaborating



his view still further, in the introduction to another later publication, "Two chapters of the Kāçikā."<sup>1</sup> According to him, the true scientific principle of arrangement of compounds, which must be regarded as underlying Pāṇini's scheme, is furnished by syntactical subordination, after the following fashion: 1. In the copulative compounds, as *devamanuṣyās* 'gods-and-men,' neither element is subordinated to the other, but both are coördinate; 2. in the determinatives, the former element is subordinated to the latter, either as a case dependent on it or as an adjective (or its equivalent), qualifying it: examples are *housetop*, *redbird*; 3. in the possessives, both are subordinated together to a word outside the compound, which they jointly qualify in the manner of an adjective: for example, *redhead*, i. e. redheaded, or possessing a red head; then, 4. there remains only one other possibility, namely that the second element should be subordinated to the first, as in *atimātram* 'beyond measure': we might give as English parallel *aboveboard* or *overboard* (also, for the other Hindu variety, consisting of a participle governing a following noun, the English *spendthrift* or *hategood*; of this variety our author makes no account, because it is Vedic, and unnoticed by Pāṇini). If, then, we are told, the subordinated element be represented by a *minus*-sign, and the other by a *plus*, we get thus the four combinations ++, -+, --, +-; and these evidently exhaust all the possibilities of the case. Now this is in the real Paninean style, and proves Dr. Liebich to possess a double portion of Pāṇini's spirit, if he be not the great grammarian himself in the latter's *n*th metempsychosis. Pāṇini would have been proud to adopt it into one of his chapters, together with its algebraic notation, so akin with his own. But our author has to confess that it is not Pāṇini's own scheme; it is only brought out fully and distinctly by a much later successor. Moreover, that Pāṇini's fourth class, the so-called *avyayibhāva* compounds, is by no means limited to examples of the formula *plus-minus*, but includes a number of quite heterogeneous formations. Dr. Liebich is nevertheless confident that he recognized the unique value of the scheme, and had it plainly in mind; only he sacrificed it, "perhaps with a heavy heart" (Kāçikā, p. ix), on the altar of—brevity! This brings to our notice, and in a strikingly illustrative manner, another of Pāṇini's leading characteristics and at the same time greatest weaknesses. The prime object aimed at by him (as in

<sup>1</sup> Zwei Kapitel der Kāçikā, Breslau, 1892, 8vo, pp. xl, 80.



no small measure in the *sūtra*-style everywhere) is brevity, brevity at the cost of every other desirable thing—of theoretic truth, of connection, and, most of all, of intelligibility. The quality may be one that recommended his work to those who had to learn it by rote (though in its degree we have the right to question even that), but it is very much the opposite of a recommendation to us, and cannot but detract very seriously from our approval and admiration. And this especially when we see how capriciously the principle is applied—how many rules are squandered on details of the most trifling consequence, far below others that are omitted; on the quotation of other grammarians (the best way to confute whom was to leave them unnoticed); on the excerption (in more than 200 rules) of scattered particulars out of the Vedic language, which are valueless because they are merely specimens, making no pretense to completeness, while the motive of their selection is in many cases beyond the reach even of conjecture—and so on. If the grammar were sharply examined with reference only to this its leading motive, it would unquestionably be found to teem with matter for unfavorable criticism.

But there is another and more fundamental difficulty lying behind Pāṇini's oversight, or possible sacrifice, in not recognizing the fourth, the *plus-minus*, class of compounds in its true character, and thus rounding out a perfect scheme of classification, namely this: there is no such class; Dr. Liebich and his authorities, the later Hindu grammarians, are deceiving themselves with a false determination and notation; the *avyayibhāva* class, however composed, is not *plus-minus*, but *minus-minus*. By this is not meant that the component parts of such compounds do not stand in a *plus-minus* relation to one another; but so also do those of the ordinary possessives stand in a *minus-plus* relation; and if the possessive is nevertheless really a *minus-minus* compound, so is, for the same reason, the *avyayibhāva*. The copulative compound, composed of two (or more) nouns or adjectives, is itself noun or adjective accordingly, and is properly reckoned as *plus-plus*; the determinative is a noun or adjective with preceding limiting word, and it also is noun or adjective accordingly, and rightly *minus-plus*. It is different with the possessive, because, though this is not less a noun with a preceding limiting word, it has passed through a transformation making of it an adjective, which is to qualify something outside: *mahābāhu* when it means 'a great arm' is determinative or *minus-plus*; but when it means

'having a great arm' it is changed to *minus-minus*. If we represent the adjectivizing influence by *a*, we shall get the equation (*minus-plus*)<sup>a</sup> = *minus-minus*, which is good linguistic mathematics; at any rate, it is only in such a way that the possessive comes to be a *minus-minus* compound. But precisely the same is true of the *avyayibhāva*. Taking, for example, the participial compound *ābharad-vasu* 'bringing wealth,' we find it made up of a governing word and its object-noun; but it is not therefore a noun; it has been transformed to an adjective; its accus. sing. and nom. plur. are not *ābharantaṁ-vasu* and *ābharanto-vasu*, but *ābharad-vasum* and *ābharad-vasavaḥ*; it has undergone a similar transformation to that of *mahābāhu*, and it is *minus-minus*; for its formula is again (*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup> = *minus-minus*. But the proper *avyayibhāva* is not an adjective, but an adverb; the phrase *atī mātrām* 'beyond measure' becomes as a compound *atimātram* 'excessively.' Here is plainly involved a similar fusion and transfer to that already described; and, if we represent the adverb-making force by *b*, the proper formula for *atimātram* is (*plus-minus*)<sup>b</sup> = *minus-minus*. But in real truth *atimātram* is still further from being a *plus-minus* compound; for to any one who considers the class historically it must be obvious that any such adverb is simply the neuter accusative of an adjective used adverbially, as neuter accusatives, among simple words and compounds of every kind, are wont to be used. For example, the first step from *atī mātrām* is the common adjective *atimātra* 'excessive,' of which the formula is (*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup>; then from this comes by another transfer the adverb, with the formula ((*plus-minus*)<sup>a</sup>)<sup>b</sup>, or, more briefly, (*plus-minus*)<sup>ab</sup>; and, as the adjective was *minus-minus*, the adverb is doubly so. Whether this double transfer be accepted or not (of course the acceptance does not imply that some of the adverbs have not been made directly, by analogy with the others of more regular development), the asserted *plus-minus* class is irretrievably lost, and with it the mathematically exhaustive and regular classification of Sanskrit compounds. It has, indeed, never been found that the facts of language could be reasoned on mathematically; and, whenever the attempt so to treat them is made, we have the right to expect to detect a misapprehension, as in the present case. We may now decline to be touched by the spectacle of Pāṇini's "heavy heart," and hold, on the contrary, that Dr. Liebig has probably done him for a second time signal injustice, in believing him

capable of being deceived by an alluring though false theory. The adjective compounds with governing prior member, whether this be preposition or participle, are sub-classes, with the possessives, of the great class of secondary adjective compounds, as I have located and described them in my grammar; and the *avyayibhāvas* are no class of compounds at all, but only a group in the long list of adjective neuter accusatives used adverbially.

It may be further mentioned, as a curiously characteristic point, that our author objects (*Kāçikā*, p. xi, note 2) to the name "possessive" as applied by Bopp and his successors to the "much-rice" (*bahuvrihi*) compounds, because some of them admit of being fairly rendered otherwise than by 'having' or 'possessing,' and because the Sanskrit has no verb 'have,' and therefore Pāṇini would not have cast the sense into this form. Then also, it may be inferred, we are wrong to speak of the "possessive" suffixes *in* and *vant*, and to render *balin* and *bala-vant* by 'having strength,' or to call *madīya* 'my' a "possessive" pronominal adjective or *taśya* 'his' a "possessive" genitive. It may be pleaded in reply that, since we name them in our own language and not in Sanskrit, we have every right to cast their real and undeniable sense into the form of nomenclature that best suits our expression; and that the Hindus themselves put the idea of possession as well as they can into the definitions of these compounds by their familiar formula *yasya . . . sa tathoktaḥ*: they say, for example, "whose arms are great" in place of our "having great arms": and it really seems to amount to the same thing.

At the close of his chapter, Dr. Liebich, conceiving himself to have broken the force of all my objections to setting Pāṇini above the Sanskrit literature, and his grammatical science above ours, regrets that I have not brought forward a happier selection of them. I, on the other hand, think myself justified in maintaining that, as they all still stand in full vigor, they are a sufficient illustration and support of my contrary estimate of the native grammar. But I am willing to add another point, which he indeed almost forces upon my attention. At the very end, namely (p. 61), he lifts up hands of horror at me (as did Speijer, in his *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 189, note) for daring to stigmatize as a barbarism something which Pāṇini expressly teaches (his alarm makes him see it as double, or worse than double, and he puts it in the plural, as a thing happening "occasionally"). He ought fairly to have quoted the case, instead of merely referring to the

rule about it. It is this: Pāṇini teaches that a comparative and superlative adverbial ending may be added to a personal verb: thus, *dadāti* 'he gives,' *dadātitarām* 'he gives more,' *dadātitamām* 'he gives most.' This is precisely as if one were directed to say in Greek *διδωσιτερον* (in this case, even the suffix is identical) and *διδωσιτατον*. Now I maintain, and without any fear of successful contradiction, that such formations, no matter who authorizes them, are horrible barbarisms, offenses against the proprieties of universal Indo-European speech. The total absence of anything like them, or of anything suggesting even remotely the possibility of forming them, in the pre-Paninean language (one might just as successfully seek for suggestions of *διδωσιτερον* in Homer or Plato), and their rarity later (no example of *-tamām* is ever met with), among writers to whom a rule of Pāṇini is as the oracle of a god, is enough to show that they never formed any proper part of the language. Probably they were jocose or slangy modes of expression (essentially *bhāṣā*, but far below the level of decent *bhāṣā*), which some strange freak, perhaps of amusement at their oddity (and Pāṇini was entitled to some compensation for the "heavy heart" which his subserviency to brevity often cost him), led him to sanction—if indeed the rule permitting them be not another interpolation by that mischief-maker who spoiled the list of roots.

Dr. Liebich complains of the (presumably disrespectful) references to "the native grammarians" which he finds too frequent in my Sanskrit grammar, and kindly advises me to cast them all out. But this is in the highest degree unreasonable. Considering the place which those grammarians have long occupied in the study of the language, and the influence allowed them by their European successors, and that their ways of viewing and presenting things have determined in large measure the form of universal Sanskrit grammar, it is simply impossible to leave them out of account and unmentioned. I am sure I have been as respectful to them as I possibly could, and probably in the majority of cases quite successfully—at least hypothetically respectful, stating their teaching for what it may be worth, and leaving to the future the final determination of its value. It was hardly respectful for him, on his part, to pronounce (in his closing sentence) all my references to them "extremely superficial and often inaccurate," without quoting a single instance to show that they really bear that character. Perhaps, if he had done so, he would have made as signal a failure of it as he has of the attempt to refute the views and reasonings of my former paper.



An extended review of Liebig's Pāṇini, by Dr. Franke, is found in the Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen bearing date of Dec. 1, 1891 (pp. 951-83). It is, however, less a detailed examination and criticism of the former's views than an independent discussion of some of the points involved, carried on with much learning and acuteness. Many pages are expended upon Pāṇini's classification of the compounds; and here Dr. Franke is far from supporting Liebig's answer to my criticisms; on the contrary, he takes my side, setting forth the remarkable superficialities and incongruities of Pāṇini's work in this department, especially as regards the asserted class of *avyayībhāvas*; he makes many points of detail which I have passed without notice in the above discussion of the theoretic groundwork of the classification. Though dated in the following year, Liebig's Kāṇikā and its introduction were doubtless written before the appearance of this review; he would hardly have ventured to repeat his views, or would have cast them into a very different form, if he had had before his eyes their condemnation by a fellow-partizan of Pāṇini. In other points, Franke's notice of Liebig's work is mainly laudatory. Thus, he "thoroughly approves," as "very successful" (p. 962), the latter's futile pleadings as to the ending *qhvam* (including, I suppose, the suggestion of Pāṇini's dullness of ear), adding, as his own contribution to the controversy, that a *qh* not seldom takes the place of *dh* in Prakrit, and that Prakritic changes have been known to work their way into Sanskrit. But what has that to do with Pāṇini's definite prescription of *qh* in certain conditions which demonstrably have nothing to do with the matter? So in Prakrit, in obedience to the same general lingualizing tendency, *n* in the majority of cases becomes *ṇ*; but that would be far from supporting a Hindu grammarian who should teach that a *r* altered the next following *n* to *ṇ* only provided it were itself preceded by the sounds included in the designation *iṇ*. As for the great question of the 1200 false roots, Dr. Franke slips smoothly over it, merely echoing the other's remark, that it was an "unfortunate proceeding" on my part to commence from that quarter my attack upon the native grammar. Unfortunate, indeed; but evidently unfortunate only for the grammar: who could help starting from that most flagrant, wanton, and inexcusable of all its many weak sides?

It is hardly worth while to say much more than has been already said with regard to Liebig's Kāṇikā. It is a laborious and useful contribution to the study of Pāṇini himself and of one



of the most noted comments upon his work, smoothing a little the way to their comprehension for those who shall approach it hereafter. The author's method is a narrowly restricted one; the rule of Pāṇini is given, not translated, and then follows a bald rendering of the Kāçikā's exposition, with here and there brief notes added on one and another point in the latter; from any attempt at an independent explanation, and yet more from any criticism, the author carefully refrains. Thus, of the rule which introduces the whole subject, *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, the Kāçikā gives two entirely discordant interpretations, illustrating, however, only the latter of them—which is a very strong indication that the commentators were themselves uncertain as to what meaning really lay hidden in its obscurity; and the translator passes the matter without a word of remark, nor does it occur to him to state whether in his opinion we ought to understand 'a word-rule is competent,' or to force into the text with extreme violence the sense 'a word in the following rules is to be taken in connection with its sense': it is only an illustration of the ordinary principle that you must first find out what a rule of Pāṇini ought to signify, and must then, at whatever cost, interpret that signification into it. And the continuation is of a piece with the beginning. No one can well avoid being moved to repugnance by the fantastic obscurity with which the subject is presented; and we know already that the underlying theory, the scheme of distinctions and of classification, is a very defective one. To claim, then, that it must be all labored through by the general body of students of Sanskrit, in order that they may duly understand the subject of Sanskrit compounds, is obviously unreasonable, not to say absurd. Pāṇini and his chief commentators must be worked over by a small class of specialists, and not simply translated—that is a mere beginning of the task—but brought into such a form as to be readily understood and assimilated by the mass of scholars. The study is excessively difficult, and on many of the points involved in it certainty seems unattainable. Dr. Liebich confesses (p. i) that he found the rendering of these two little chapters so hard that he could scarcely keep his courage up to complete the task. Speijer has been a faithful student of the native grammar; but of the discussions and criticisms of points in it on which he occasionally ventures in his Sanskrit Syntax, Böhtlingk (in a review of the work in Z. D. M. G. XLI 179 ff.) claims to refute nearly every one; and now Liebich (Kāçikā, p. iv) declares

Böhtlingk, in spite of his life-long familiarity with the subject and his immense erudition, to have translated Pāṇini sometimes incorrectly. Rather discouraging that for a student who is ambitious to get his knowledge of Sanskrit directly from native sources!

I would be far from saying anything to discourage the study of Pāṇini; it is highly important and extremely interesting, and might fairly absorb much more of the labor of the present generation than has been given to it. But I would have it followed in a different spirit and for a different purpose and in a different method. It should be thoroughly dissociated from the study of Sanskrit, though never without recognition of what it may finally contribute to our knowledge of Sanskrit in addition to what we derive from the literature. As to what the literature contains, we need no help from the native grammar; it is the residue of peculiar material that we shall value, and that we should strive to separate from the mass. And the study should be made a truly progressive one, part after part of the native system being worked out to the last possible degree and the results recorded, so that each generation be not compelled to begin anew the tedious and unrewarding task.

At the beginning of the introduction to his *Kāçikā*, it is true, Liebhich makes the claim that all Sanskrit students need to master Pāṇini, if for no other reason, because the native commentaries cannot be otherwise completely understood, it being known that they abound more or less in references to the grammar and demonstrations founded upon it. There would be more in this consideration if the grammatical discussions were not precisely the most worthless part of the comments, which can be in all cases neglected with least fear of loss. What the words mean, what allusions they contain, what is to be supplied to complete the sense, which of possible constructions is the right one—these are matters in regard to which the aid of the commentator is more or less (in proportion, namely, to the artificiality of the composition) welcome, sometimes even indispensable; but for the grammatical forms, the derivations, and everything else that Pāṇini can be quoted for, the case is different. As for Sāyaṇa and his kind, even those who make the strongest claims in his favor will hardly venture to deny that the whole grammatical part of his exposition might be expunged from his text without loss of a jot or tittle of its value.

It may be added that Dr. Franke also, in the first paragraphs of his review of Liebhich briefly examined above, shows the same

disposition to exaggerate and misrepresent the claims of Pāṇini to attention. He quotes once more, as Liebhich had done before him, Lassen's unworthy insinuation that Bopp's growing independence of Pāṇini was owing to his ignorance of him! As if Bopp did not know Pāṇini, both at first hand and in his European representatives, sufficiently to judge with full competence what his system was worth, and how far it required to be followed! There is quite too much of Pāṇini left still in Bopp's grammar; yet to Bopp belongs the high credit of making the recorded facts of the language for the first time the basis of their orderly presentation, and of bringing the principles of European grammatical science, and those of a new and developing comparative grammar, to bear upon Sanskrit. It is owing to this that he became the real Sanskrit teacher to Europe, in a manner and degree far beyond the reach of Lassen. Dr. Franke then goes on to vindicate for Pāṇini various things to which he has not the shadow of a just title: as, 1. that not only for Sanskrit, but also for other Aryan dialects and writings, Pāṇini is of indispensable importance—which apparently means nothing more than that some of the phenomena of dialects later than Sanskrit are to be found noted in his grammar; 2. that the study of his rules has a formally educating influence—which is, I think, just the opposite of the truth, since their method is purely mechanical, sacrificing everything else to brevity, ignoring connection and proportion, lacking all recognition of the historical element, and therefore necessarily destitute of philosophy (we have seen above that too much Pāṇini has led Dr. Liebhich to doubt the relation of cause and effect in Sanskrit euphony); 3. that it is Pāṇini who has taught us to regard every word, every ending, even every letter as important—which is an accusation laid without any reason whatever against western grammatical science; and 4. that Pāṇini is going to aid literary chronology in a way that is hitherto for the most part only a matter of conjecture and of future hope—and which therefore, we may answer, it is as yet too early to say anything about; but, if there are such treasures hid in Pāṇini, why do not his partizans devote themselves to bringing them forth, instead of dwelling upon subjects which are far better understood out of the literature itself?

Just forty years ago, a German student of more than ordinary ability, in company with whom I had worked for a season under a professor of the highest eminence in Germany, took the degree

of doctor of philosophy creditably with a dissertation on one of Kālidāsa's plays, and went to England for further study and for employment. He was fortified, among other things, with a letter of introduction to a Sanskrit scholar of German birth, then long resident in London. This scholar, on being consulted in regard to plans and pursuits, told him that all his hitherto acquired knowledge had no real foundation, and was essentially worthless; that, if he wished to accomplish anything, he must drop all besides and devote himself for two or three years exclusively to the study of Pāṇini; when that had been done it would be time to talk of something else. Just how much this rebuff had to do with turning my friend's attention away to other studies I do not know; but, at any rate, until his death some years after he was not heard of further in Sanskrit.

Such was, doubtless in its most intense form, the spirit of the devotees of the native Hindu grammar a generation ago. And, though it has been in some measure subdued since, it is by no means extinct, when a man of real learning and ability like Dr. Franke can still maintain (in his *Casuslehre*, etc., noticed above, p. 68, or p. 6 of the reprint) that our profounder knowledge of Sanskrit is to be especially proportioned to our deeper penetration into Pāṇini's teachings—against which is to be set, as antidote, the same author's exposure of Pāṇini's failure in the article of compounds. It is, of course, much to the credit of Pāṇini that he exercises such a bewildering fascination over the minds of those who involve themselves in the labyrinth of his rules—though the influence admits, I believe, of a natural explanation. I am fully persuaded that any one who should master the Hindu grammatical science without losing his head, who should become thoroughly familiar with Pāṇini and escape being Pāṇini-bitten, would be able to make exposures of the weaknesses and shortcomings and needless obscurities of the grammar on a scale hitherto unknown.

W. D. WHITNEY.



### III.—THE RELATIVE POSITION OF ACTORS AND CHORUS IN THE GREEK THEATRE OF THE V CENTURY B. C.

#### PART II.

##### CONSIDERATION OF THE EXTANT DRAMAS.

An examination of the works of the four great dramatists in strictly chronological order would seem at first glance calculated to show most clearly the steady course of development in the drama, and consequently to illustrate most fully the corresponding changes which were made in 'stage'-buildings and equipments. But Sophokles was ever more akin to Aischylos than to Euripides, and Aristophanes frequently holds the youngest of the tragedians up to ridicule, both in his text and in the setting of his plays. It has seemed best, therefore, to follow an order which, while in a general way chronological, shall place together the poets who are most closely related to each other.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. THE PLAYS OF AISCHYLOS BEFORE THE TIME OF SOPHOKLES.<sup>2</sup>

##### *Supplikes.*

Two points in this play are especially remarkable. The action does not take place before a palace or temple, or in any well-known locality; there is no hint of a 'scenae frons.' We find mention of an altar (222) near the coast of Argos (714 ff., 734, 744, 836) and not far from the city (955 ff.). Again, the dialogue is almost entirely between an actor and the chorus. On only two occasions does an actor converse with a fellow-actor (480 ff. and

<sup>1</sup> The chronological order of the plays followed is that found in Christ's *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*. The references are for the 'Persians' to Teuffel-Wecklein's edition; for the other plays, to the Teubner texts.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, XXI, S. 597 ff.; Schönborn, *Die Skene der Hellenen*, S. 284 ff.; A. Müller, *B.-A.* 125 f.; Todt, *Noch einmal die Bühne des Aeschylos*, in *Philologus*, XLVIII, S. 505 ff.; Capps, *The Stage in the Greek Theatre*.



911 ff.). The chorus is the important element of the play. In the choreutae the interest centres, and where they are, there is the place of the action.

The first words of Danaos (τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί, 177) assure us that he has come as a guide to his daughters. As such his place was with the chorus when they came marching in chanting their anapaests, at the opening of the play. The entrance of the king (234) and of the herald (836) are most carefully motived. Even when Danaos returns from the city (600) the chorus greets him as he enters; and we feel that it is only because of the exciting nature of the scene that there is a lack of something of the kind when the king reappears (911). Since, then, there is nothing in the play to indicate that such is the case, it is hardly credible that Danaos should have entered during the recital of vs. 1-175. The play assumes his presence with his children from the beginning. ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα βᾶτε he bids them (191). If he were on the stage he must bid them 'come up' to him. For if a 'stage' existed, the altar, as we shall presently see, was upon it. But βᾶτε is exactly the expression to be used if the father stood with his children and bade them seek refuge at an altar on the same level with themselves. There is in fact no hint of any change of level as they repeatedly pass to and from this altar. The king says ἐπιστρέφου (508). They exhort each other βαῖνε φυγᾶ πρὸς ἀλκάν (832). It is not possible that they could have climbed to a stage in the four lines which are spoken before the herald joins them (836). What an absurd spectacle these choreutae would have presented scrambling up a flight of steps to reach their altar of refuge! Finally, when the king invites the chorus to go to the city, he uses στείχεται' (955). Schönborn infers from πάγον (189) that a hill is represented on the scene. But this is not simply a hill, but πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν. It is neither more nor less than the altar of the gods, at which the maidens are to sit as suppliants. This is plain from κρείσσων δὲ πύργου βωμός in the following line. πάγον τῶν θεῶν for altar (βωμός) need not surprise us, when we remember that altars at Olympia and elsewhere frequently became hillocks by the gradual accretions from the remains of sacrifices.

At v. 208 the chorus says to Danaos θέλομαι' ἂν ᾗδῃ σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν. Father and daughters are both at the altar. Here the choreutae remain till v. 508, when they leave their suppliant position at the request of the king. On the approach of the herald (832) they again seek refuge at the altar, from which they

depart to the city (955). Since the herald seeks to drag them from its protection (866-910), and is only prevented from doing so by the timely arrival of the king (911), it follows that this altar was where the actors were accustomed to be—on the 'stage,' if there were a stage. But the chorus is at the altar during 454 verses, considerably more than one-third of the entire play, and during almost the entire time when the *action* is going on.

Besides altars, chorus and actors there were present the attributes and images of the gods, *τρίαιναν* (218), *Ἑρμῆς ὄδ'* (220), *βρέττα* (463), *τριάινας* (755), *βρέττος* (885). These were numerous and of considerable size, for the choreutae threaten to hang themselves upon them (465). Some portion of the multitude seen by Danaos (180 ff.) is also present, as the king (*στείχουσ' ἄν, ἄνδρες*, 500) commands his attendants to guide and guard Danaos. Again, *φίλαις ὁπάσοι* (954) and *ὁπαδοί* (1023) refer to others than the choreutae. It would be difficult indeed to accommodate on any stage possible in a Greek theatre these persons and objects actually mentioned as present.

V. 713 *ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆςδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ* is also taken as an indication of an elevated 'stage.' That the chorus is at this time in the orchestra is evident. For they left the altar at 508 and do not return to it till the entrance of the herald. They are surely not far from it, because the ode 630-709 is a prayer at this *κοινοβωμία* for all blessings for the Argives. Danaos is with his children in the orchestra, since *μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι* (748) becomes nonsense if the father is not near enough to render assistance in case the choreutae are attacked. In *ἱκεταδόκου σκοπῆς* we surely have a reference to the same altar mentioned in *πάγον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν*. If this altar were on an elevated stage to which the herald was about to enter (836), and on which he was bound by the rules of dramatic art to remain, why does the chorus run to meet the danger?

The setting of the play becomes simple when we once have clearly in mind the earliest orchestra on the site of the theatre at Athens (cf. Part I). There were no stage-buildings. The altar in the middle of the orchestra would naturally be the altar belonging to the temple, since a second altar for sacrificial purposes would be superfluous. The Suppliants carries us back more nearly than any other extant play to the time when the drama consisted of odes sung by the choreutae as they danced around the altar. In the light of what we have found in the play itself

we are warranted in saying that to this circular dancing-place came the procession of Danaos and his daughters. To the large altar (*κοινοβωμία*, cf. 189 f., 222) in its centre, decorated with emblems and images of the gods, they go, deposit their branches, and sit as suppliants. Hither come the king and his attendants and find them. He sends Danaos to the city, then follows him. Danaos returns, from the altar sees the enemy approaching, and hastens for aid. The herald comes and seeks to drag the maidens to the ships, but is prevented by the king. Finally Danaos with his guard of honor (980 ff.) leads his children from the orchestra (1014 ff.) away into the hospitable city. Thus regarded the play possesses a dignity and simplicity which are entirely wanting on the supposition of a stage of any kind. Viewed in this light the Suppliants shows a natural step in the development from the choral song.

#### *Persae.*

The tomb of Dareios is the central point of much of the action. It is a structure of some size, for the shade of the king is invited (659) *ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου. ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου* (686) proves that he literally obeys this call. The words *στέγος ἀρχαῖον* (141) seem also to apply to this family sepulchre (cf. v. 657 *ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν*, Soph. *Electra* 1165, and *Lycophr. Alex.* 1097), since a council chamber such as Wilamowitz (*Herm.* XXI) has assumed would not be erected on the scene for this one brief reference.

The palace was at a distance. The chorus see Atossa approaching at 150, but it is five lines later before they begin to address her. Appearing from a palace in the background, she would have been immediately before them as soon as she became visible. She announces (159) *ταῦτα λιποῦσ' ἰκάνω*. These words are superfluous if the palace was before the eyes of the choreutae. The queen mentions (229) the offerings she will make after she has returned to the royal dwelling. She says she will return to the sepulchre with a sacrificial cake (524), but adds (529 f.) *ἐάνπερ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλη, | παρηγορεῖτε, καὶ προπέμπετ' ἐς δόμους*. This escort duty could only be performed by the chorus when the palace lay at a distance. The mother's fear that her son will arrive while she is absent, and her non-appearance in the long scene which follows the appearance of Xerxes, are both inexplicable on the theory that the palace is before the eyes of the spectators. In all these passages there is the idea of space to be traversed and time to be consumed in passing to and from the dwelling.

The queen announces (607 f.) τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων | χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν | ἔσσεια. ὄχημα means vehiculum, chariot,<sup>1</sup> as in Iph. in Aulis 610 f. ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων ἔξω πορεύεθ'. The fact that Atossa takes pains to say that she has come without her chariot and her former pomp distinctly implies that at her first appearance she did come with such royal insignia. Therefore it was equally impossible that she should come from a palace in the background, or enter on a stage at all. Lines 1016 and 1024 show how poverty-stricken was the dress of Xerxes on his arrival on the scene of action, and how few were in his retinue. Still the poet could not introduce the king unattended, nor represent him as having come from Greece on foot. Therefore it is a fair inference that σκηναῖς τροχλάτοιςιν (1000 f.) imply a chariot in which the king appears in the orchestra.

But there are yet other proofs that actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. For the first forty lines after his appearance (249) the messenger converses with the chorus. Had he appeared on a stage of which Atossa and her attendants were the occupants, he would on his entrance have stood face to face with them, and it would have been most unnatural for him to turn from the queen before him to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from him. His action is natural only on the supposition that he enters through the parodos, since then the chorus in the middle of the orchestra would first meet his eyes. Again Atossa returns from the palace with the sacrificial offerings (598) and the chorus join in the libations to the dead which follow. It need hardly be said that all are by the tomb during this ceremony. In fact Dareios addresses his wife as τάφου πέλας (684) and the chorus as ἐγγὺς . . . τάφου (686). He actually addresses the chorus first on his appearance (681). Then the commands of Xerxes to the chorus, πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι (1038) and ἐς δόμους κίε (1067), do not bid them to 'come up' to him and enter the palace by clambering over a stage, but to escort him to the royal house, as they had been commanded by the queen-mother (530). The length of the kommos (1036-76), during which all are leaving the scene together, is another indication that they are passing out through the parodos, and not by the shorter way, 'over a stage.'

<sup>1</sup> Teuffel-Wecklein, Perser, S. 50, attempt to explain ὄχημα as 'Thronsessel,' but this is simply an effort to show how the queen entered from a palace in the background.



It is true that no underground passage has been as yet found in the theatre at Athens, but the existence of such passages in Eretria, Sikyon and elsewhere produces not a demonstration but a conviction that the ghost of Dareios appeared by means of some such passage, that he appeared in the orchestra, not on a 'stage.'

The Persians is certainly a step higher in development than the Suppliants. The tomb of Dareios is of more importance than the *κοινοβωμία*, and the interest centres in the actors, not in the chorus. But the idea of a scenic background is not yet present.

### *Septem.*

The scene is on the Kadmeia in Thebes (*ἀκρόπολιν*, 240), and perhaps in an agora; for Eteokles, at the opening of the play, is addressing an assembly of the citizens. *Κάδμον πολῖται* (1), *ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες* (31), and the exhortation for young and old alike (10 ff.) to succor the city, unite to prove that numbers were present in this assembly. Being mutes, their place is with the actors, but their numbers are apparently too great for any possible stage. The bodies of the two brothers are brought in at 861. From 960 on Antigone and Ismene are present with them. The chorus in antistrophic strains (874 ff.) lament the fate of the dead. *σιδαρόπλακτοι μὲν ὧδ' ἔχουσι* (911) shows that the body lies immediately before the semichorus. At 1068 *ἡμεῖς μὲν ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν | αἶδε προπομποί* says the one semichorus as it, with Antigone, follows the body of Polynikes through one parodos. *ἡμεῖς ἅμα τῷδ'* respond the others as they, together with Ismene, accompany the funeral procession of Eteokles. Here not only are the numbers too great for the supposed 'stage,' but there is the distinct statement that all are together on one level, which could only be that of the orchestra.

Many images are mentioned, Ares (105, 135), Zeus (116), Apollo (145, 159), Artemis (149 f.), Hera (152). The chorus not only appeal to them in these passages, but prostrate themselves before them (95 *βρέτη*). They rush in haste to them (211 *πρόδρομος ἦλθον*). The choreutae are clinging to these figures (258), and only come forth from among them (265 *ἐκτὸς οὐδ' ἀγαλμάτων*) in response to repeated commands of the king. But neither here nor elsewhere in the play does anything suggest an ascent to a stage or descent therefrom. Yet Eteokles offers prayer to these same tutelary deities (69 f.). In these devotions he could not neglect the images, nor can we conceive that he prayed from the



top of a 'stage' to the images down in the orchestra. On the other hand, there is no room for these *agalmata* on a stage. These difficulties disappear when we grant that all—actors, chorus and mutes—are moving and performing their several functions on the acropolis of Thebes, from which the chorus (81, 89, 115, 117)—not because they have climbed the little elevation of a 'stage,' but because of the height of the citadel itself—watch the action going on without the walls.

*Prometheus.*

The final catastrophe in which actor and chorus are swallowed up together could only take place if the cliff to which the Titan was chained was of considerable height and extent. Otherwise there would not be room beneath for the reception of so great a number of persons. In the *Prometheus*, then, we have the first example of extensive construction to aid in the presentation of a play, the first of the *προσκήνια* which Aischylos is said to have invented. For the tomb and altars used in the previous plays could hardly be called by that name. As has been shown in Part I of this paper, the stage-buildings of the V century were entirely of wood. The mistake which has been made in the past has been in the assumption that the theatre-carpenter first built a lofty narrow platform and then proceeded to erect his scenery upon this. But such a construction for the *Prometheus* is an absurdity. On the narrow platform of the so-called stage there would be no room for the representation of the craggy mountain-side to which the Titan is bound, much less for the immense trap-door(?) through which chorus and actor finally disappear. It was not on the (later) *proskenion*, but instead of it, that the scenery was constructed. It is quite possible that the sudden and complete disappearance of all the occupants of the scene finds its explanation in the peculiar position of the ancient orchestra at Athens. As explained in Part I, the earth outside of this orchestra to the south was five or six feet at least lower than the level of the orchestra. Under these circumstances such a disappearance could be easily managed.

For more than 150 verses after they appear (127-282) the chorus remain in their winged chariot. This chariot, with its burden of 12 choreutae, could not have moved into view through the air. The weight was too great. Vs. 143 ff. show that they are near the Titan when they enter. The idea that at 282 they

leave their chariot and descend from a stage into an orchestra, having no connection with the real scene of the action, finds no support whatever in the text. Next to the hero himself, the chorus is the important element of the play. Their conversation with him is, as it were, only interrupted by the visits of Okeanos and Io. They remain constant to him and finally suffer with him. Where they are is always considered a part of the scene of action. The words of Hermes (1058 ff.) show that they are then near Prometheus, and the whole play demands that there be no artificial barrier like a stage between them and the sufferer.

Certain common characteristics of these first four plays we shall find neither in the later dramas of Aischylos nor in those of the other dramatists.

1. Although a *σκηνή*, a building of some sort to which the actors could retire for the changes of masks and of costumes, was necessarily present, it is only in the Prometheus that a special structure to represent a scene is demanded.

2. So far as can be learned from the plays themselves, the side entrances, the *parodoi*, alone were used.

3. The chorus has an importance either greater than or equal to that of the actors.

As Mr. Verrall says (Class. Rev. 1890, p. 225): "The drama of Aeschylus is really a choric drama. If we except the Prometheus, a work *sui generis* and not really compassable by any stage high or low, all Aeschylus's remaining plays are of the choric kind. Speakers, singers and mutes are all indissolubly connected and equally essential to the action. So that to subtract the singers and separate them in any way from the whole body would be as improbable and contradictory to the nature of the act as to put a barrier between the actors of a dialogue."

## II. THE AISCHYLOS-SOPHOKLES PERIOD.

### A. Aischylos.—Agamemnon.

The scene is before the palace of the Atreidai: *στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν*, 3; *Ἀτρειδῶν στέγος*, 310; *μέλαθρα βασιλέων*, 518; *ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους*, 851; *ἐς δῶμ'*, 911; *ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα*, 957; *εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ*, 1035; *πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν*, 1088; *ἐν δόμοισι*, 1102; *δώμασιν*, 1191; *δόμοις*, 1217; *δόμοι*, 1309; *πρὸς δῶμα*, 1349; *δωμάτων*, 1673. These passages are cited not to prove what all the world knows, but to call attention to the marked contrast between the scenic accessories used in the

Agamemnon and those employed—if we base our judgment on the text—in the four earlier plays.

Commentators may be in doubt as to whether Pelasgos rides into the orchestra in the Suppliants, but there is no doubt that Agamemnon and Cassandra come on the scene in the Agamemnon (782) in a chariot. Not only was this act of itself impossible on a Greek 'stage,' but, granting that the chariot itself could appear on this narrow platform, no space would remain for the spreading of the carpet (909), for the maid-servants (908), for Klytaimnestra, and for the train of menials who must have followed the king. The conqueror of Troy would not arrive before his palace unattended. In spite of the repeated invitations of Klytaimnestra (1039 ff.) and exhortations of the chorus (1054), the prophetess remains seated in the chariot till v. 1290 (*ιοῦσα κ' ἄγῳ*). Then she ranges free through the orchestra (1298). She approaches the door (1306). She essays again and again to enter, while the chorus gather about her in wondering pity (1321). Finally she rushes within to meet her doom (1330). Nothing in the play indicates that she must ascend to a 'stage.' During 500 lines (782–1290) the chariot and the captive Cassandra seated within is the middle point of the action. To this chariot must Klytaimnestra come, both when she welcomes her husband and when she invites the Trojan maiden to enter the palace. If stairs were present, the mutes and the actors, encumbered by their tragic costume, must have repeatedly passed over them. Then it would have been easy for the chorus, unencumbered by such dress, to have ascended them in the death scene (1342 ff.), in order to enter the palace, had it not been that the fate of Agamemnon was foreordained, and that the exigencies of the play required them to remain without, that Klytaimnestra might address them in the presence of the spectators.

In 1615 f. the chorus threatens that Aigisthos shall be stoned. Later (1650) he calls upon his companions to be ready, and the chorus draw their swords and rush forward (1651 *εἰα δὲ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπίζετω*). These are not the words of men who must climb a narrow flight of steps to come at their enemy. Aigisthos retires to the house at the close of the play, but there is no indication again that he must ascend in order to do this. A stage was then not only not necessary, but would have been a decided hindrance to the entire action of the play, while the greater portion of the play must in any event have been represented in the orchestra.

*Choephoroe.*

Two objects are mentioned as being before the eyes of the spectators—the tomb of Agamemnon and the royal palace. The latter is first mentioned v. 13, and the chorus inform us that they are come forth from it (22 f.) as an escort to the drink-offering. The tomb being the central point of the action for the next 400 lines, the palace is not again referred to till 553. From this line to the end of the play the action is either in or immediately before this building (cf. 561, 652, 669, 712, 732, 849, 878, 885). The testimony concerning the sepulchre is equally emphatic. Orestes is at the tomb v. 4; Elektra pours libations on it, vs. 129 and 149. The lock of hair is found upon it (168). It is also referred to as present in 106, 355 f., 501, 511. Finally, after Klytaimnestra has conducted Orestes and Pylades within the house, 722 f. *ὦ πότνια χθών καὶ πότνι' ἀκτῇ | χώματος, ἥ νῦν ἐπὶ ναυάρχῳ | σώματι κεῖσαι τῷ βασιλείῳ*, in connection with *δόμοισι* (13) and *ἐκ δόμων* (22) proves conclusively that there has been no change of scene, but that sepulchre and palace have both been present throughout the play.

But dwelling and tomb cannot both exist at the same time in the background directly in front of the *σκηνῇ*. The sepulchre could not be located close by the door of the palace, and Orestes (16 f.) sees the procession coming, yet has time to withdraw before the maidens perceive him. Furthermore, the narrow stage afforded no room for an object so large as the passages already cited prove this sepulchre to have been. The tomb was then in the orchestra.

This tallies exactly with what we learn of the position of actors and chorus. The choreutae enter with Elektra (16 f.), they are her associates (86), sharers in the ceremonies (100). She prays for them as well as for herself (112). They move about her chanting the dirge as she pours the libation (152 f.) Therefore, for the first 584 vs.—more than half the play—actors and chorus are together in the orchestra. The chorus decide not to enter the palace in the death scene (870 ff.), and they have the same excellent reason here as in the Agamemnon. The play must go on before the eyes of the spectators. Later Orestes says, as he shows the murderous net in which his father had been entangled: *ἐκτείναντ' αὐτὸ καὶ κύκλῳ παρασταδὸν | στέγαστρον ἀνδρὸς δείξασθ'* (983 f.). He is plainly talking to the choreutae, and if they are not actually holding the garment, they are at least near the group. *κύκλῳ* certainly implies that they are not separated from the actors by a



'stage.' In the Choephoroe, then, actors and chorus are on the same level throughout, and a stage is impossible.

It is worth noting that in (878) *γυναικείους πύλας* we have probably the first allusion to a second door in the proskenion. The servant has just come out of one door as he goes to open that leading to the women's apartments.

*Eumenides.*

In the opening scene the proskenion represents the temple of Apollo at Delphoi, and the orchestra appears as the open court before it. The priestess entering offers prayer to *Γαῖα* and *Θέμις* (2), *Τιτανίς*—*Φοίβη* (6, 7). Certainly goddesses who earlier were held in highest honor here would possess at least altars within the sacred precincts. At these the priestess does homage, and they could hardly have been crowded together on a narrow 'stage' close in front of the temple.

The chorus have just ended their ode (142-177) in the orchestra when the god gives his command (179) *ἔξω, Κελεύω, τῶνδε δωμάτων*. These words, then, refer to the sacred precinct—temple and court, i. e. orchestra—as a whole.

That, as the schol. in loc. informs us, the sleeping Furies, Apollo, Hermes and Orestes, are all brought into view on the *ekkyklema* (64) is beyond belief. No door in Greek or Roman theatre has ever been found capable of giving passage to a platform of such size. The words of Apollo (68), *ὑπνῷ πεσοῦσαι κτλ.*, are unnecessary if the sleepers were before the eyes of the spectators. It is accordingly not till 140 that, finally aroused by the reproaches of Klytāimnestra, they come rushing forth. But the first strophe begins with 143. There is no time to descend a flight of steps between 140 and 143, and surely the choreutae are not descending stairs as they sing this ode.

It is of no great weight, but it is nevertheless natural to expect that the pursued Orestes and the pursuing Furies should leave the theatre by the same exit, the left parodos.

If there had been a stage, the Furies, when they reënter (244) searching for their victim (245 f.), would naturally look for Orestes an actor, upon it; but where they find him clinging to the image there the trial is conducted, and there all the participants in this magnificent scene have their places. Accusers, accused, defenders and judges can hardly be separated—a portion on a lofty platform and the rest deep down in the orchestra. That the altar and image of the goddess, with the numerous company of actors,



mutes and chorus, could find no sufficient room on the 'stage' is self-evident. Whether Athena appears (404) moving through the air is of no importance so far as the stage-question is concerned, but, after judgment has been rendered, the goddess declares that she herself will head the procession which is to lead the Furies to their new abode (1003 f.). She invites the chorus to follow (1006), and bids the Areopagites accompany them. Attendants bear the torches (1005) and chant the closing ode (1032 ff.) as all move from the theatre together in splendid procession—affording splendid proof that the entire scene has been given on the broad level of the orchestra.

B. *Sophokles.—Aias.*

Since in the V century the proskenion was a temporary structure, alterable to meet the requirements of each play, it is reasonable to suppose that the hut of Aias was made with some attempt to portray a real structure of this kind. It could not occupy the entire space (e. g. 24 m. at Epidauros) between the paraskenia; nor could it, from lack of room, be built forward on the 'stage.' Then, too, the invitation to the chorus to enter the tent (329 εἰσελθόντες) is not an invitation to ascend to a stage. Nor can we assume, with Müller (B.-A., S. 127), that they do not enter because of the difficulty of climbing the steps. The scholiast (in 130) gives the correct explanation: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄτοπον τὸν χορὸν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν σκηνὴν ἀναβοᾷ ἔνδοθεν ὁ Αἴας ἵνα μείνῃ ἐπὶ χώρας ὁ χορὸς. Here σκηνήν means simply the 'scene' of the action. Tekmessa opens the hut (344, 346), saying that the chorus can now see the hero (346), which statement Aias repeats (364). But the hero is lying on the floor of the hut (427). From the orchestra it would be impossible for the chorus to see him over the edge of a stage more than five feet high. Again, the choreutae must be near enough to make the request of Aias (361), that they slay him, appear reasonable.

Aias is an actor, therefore his place is on the 'stage,' if one existed. If the semichoruses are not entirely lacking in sense they will look for him there when they enter in the 'search scene.' Though they are on the scene 25 vs. before the body is found, Tekmessa is the one to discover it. The length of the search implies that considerable space was examined. This space existed only in the orchestra. A glance would have sufficed for the examination of the so-called 'stage.' πᾶ κεῖται (911 f.) asks the

chorus; *οἱ τοὶ θεατοὶ* is the reply, showing that the body was visible to them, as it could hardly have been if on a stage, while they were in the orchestra below.

Teuker bids the choreutae (1182) protect the child of Aias, and in the closing scene he bids some to hollow out a grave (1403 f.), others to put the tripod on the fire (1405). Let one troop bring forth the arms (1407 f.) of the hero. Finally, let every one (1413 f.) who says he is a friend of Aias hurry and go toiling for him. No one has a better right to be included in these commands than the chorus. Since all have been together in the orchestra, so all depart in solemn march through the parodos.

#### *Antigone.*

The scene is before the palace of Kreon (386, 526, 1181, 1248, 1293). Apparently but one entrance to this is used (1, 99, 162, 526, 578, 626 (?), 804, 1182, 1243, 1276, 1292, 1346). One entrance on the right is necessary (99, 987, 1090, 1353), and one on the left<sup>1</sup> (99, 222, 331, 444, 765, 943, 1114, 1261).

Vs. 160 ff. inform us that the chorus is assembled in its capacity of council to the king, and that Kreon addresses them as such. Naturally, the king joins his councillors, and is not perched on a 'stage' high above them. The chorus is also frequently addressed and brought intimately into the action of the play by Antigone (940), by Teiresias 988. The prophet addresses Kreon and the chorus as members of one body, of which Kreon is the one who replies. The messenger (cf. Schol. in 1155) and Eurydike (1183) direct their conversation to the choreutae. This method of treating the chorus is natural only on the supposition that actors and chorus are together on one level in the open court before the palace of the king.

#### *Electra.*

The palace of the Pelopidai is again in the background (10, 40, 69, 324, 661, 802, 818, 929, 1106); but the tomb of Agamemnon is not visible (51 ff., 404 ff., 871 ff., 893). An altar to Apollo is placed before the dwelling (634 f., 1376 f.). *Ἀγορὰ Δυκεῖος* (7) and *Ἦρας ναός* (8), particularly the latter, could not have been actually on the scene, for the proskenion represented the palace. They might have been represented on the paraskenia, however, and possibly we have here the first clear indication of that *σκηνογραφία* the invention of which Aristotle (Poet., c. 4) ascribes to Sophokles.

<sup>1</sup> Right and left from the standpoint of the spectator.

The pedagogue, entering v. 659, though Klytaimnestra has just finished speaking, first addresses the chorus. So Orestes (1098) salutes them, ὦ γυναῖκες, and seems unconscious of the presence of Elektra, as one apart from the rest of the number, till the chorus call his attention to the fact. Had these two actors come in on a stage whose only occupant in each case was another actor, it would have been a peculiar thing for them to turn from this actor to address the chorus in the orchestra below and at some distance from them. An examination of the plan of the theatre of Dionysos in Part I will show that when an actor entered the orchestra through the parodos, he would first see, and therefore naturally first address, the choreutae near the centre of the orchestra, rather than the actors nearer the proskenion.

From 120 to 324 Elektra and the chorus are engaged in intimate conversation (cf. 130, 229). There is no more reason for separating them than for keeping apart any two actors under similar circumstances. From 804-870 chorus and actor are again alone, and Elektra is lying by the door of the palace. 827 El. εἰ εἰ, αἰαῖ. | Cho. ὦ παῖ, τί δακρύεις; | El. φεῦ. | Ch. μηδὲν μέγ' αὔσης. | El. ἀπολείς. Ch. πῶς; | El. εἰ τῶν φανερώς οἰχομένων εἰς 'Αἶδαν ἐλπίδ' ὑποίσεις, κατ' ἐμοῦ τακομένας μᾶλλον ἐπεμβάσει. It is surely but reasonable to say that the choreutae are near the one whom they are seeking to comfort. There is no word of their ascending to reach her, but in her recumbent position on a stage she would not even be visible to her friends in the orchestra.

#### *Oedipus Rex.*

The royal palace of Thebes is in the background (632, 927, 1294, etc.), before which are altars (2, 16, 919). It would not, indeed, have been impossible to arrange these altars and the crowd of suppliants<sup>1</sup> sitting at them as Oidipous enters, v. 1, on the so-called Greek stage; but, in that event, there could be but little room for any one or anything else there. The priest is an actor, the other suppliants are mutes, therefore they are on the same level as the other actors. All prostrate themselves before the king (40 f.), and the priest assumes that all are with himself (147 *ιστάμεθα*). Yet the crowd is at a little distance from the two actors, and have a clearer view of the side entrances. For the suppliants inform the priest that Kreon is approaching (78 ff.). The new-

<sup>1</sup> 16 ff. οἱ μὲν οὐδέπω μακρὰν | πτέσθαι σθενόντες, οἱ δὲ σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς | ἱερῆς, ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός, οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἡθέων | λεκτοί.

comer is still at a little distance, for two speeches are delivered before he is within speaking distance (85). The scene is entirely clear only on the assumption that the suppliants at the altars nearer the middle of the orchestra command a better view of the actor entering through the parodos than do the actors who are nearer the proskenion. It may be urged that the actor could be imagined as visible while still standing in the paraskenia, but this would not at all explain those scenes where the chorus in the orchestra first see and announce the coming of an actor through the side entrances. The chorus in such a case could not be expected even to imagine seeing an actor about to enter on a 'stage.'

Nothing in the play requires the chorus to ascend to a stage, yet are they on the same level with the actors. They first see Teiresias (297 f.), and they prostrate themselves before the king (326 f.). For all the MSS except L assign these words to the chorus, and Oidipous would hardly kneel to the prophet, nor could he say πάντες σε προσκυνούμεν οἷδ' ἰκτῆριοι. Furthermore, Iokasta brings the chorus intimately into the action (648); the messenger addresses the chorus, not Iokasta (924); Oidipous questions the choreutae whether any of them know the herdsman (1047, 1115 f.). He appeals to the choreutae to lead him away (1339), to deign to touch him (1413). These passages imply unobstructed intercourse between actors and chorus.

Had the newly-blinded king come forth on the so-called stage (1307), one must surely have trembled lest he walk over its edge and fall into the orchestra.

#### *Trachiniae.*

The scene of the action is before the palace of Herakles (203, 329, 531, 900).

The chorus first appear to bid Deianeira hope (138). Later she comes forth in secret (531 ff.) to explain to them her fears and her plans, and to show to them the garment she has prepared (580). They are undoubtedly in a position to see this in its hollow chest (692). Although the herald is already without the palace (594 ff.), Deianeira bids the choreutae keep her secret, and adds a moral reflection for their edification. The eternal fitness of things would certainly seem to be violated if she were confidentially shouting her woes from a 'stage' to the chorus at some distance from her, below in the orchestra, with Lichas, from whom



these things are to be kept hidden, standing a few feet from her, at the door of the palace. This scene is also clear when we understand that the wife of Herakles is with her friends, the choreutae, in the orchestra, while the herald is at a little distance when he comes from the palace door. Directly to the chorus does the hero's wife come again (663), when she discovers the evil she has wrought.

Herakles is brought in where the chorus can see him lying on his couch (964 ff.). This they could do with difficulty were he on a stage. His bearers, attendants, and the friends who would naturally accompany him, the procession with which the play closes and of which the chorus probably form a part,—all tend to prove that the action is going on on the broad level of the orchestra.

*Philoktetes.*

Neoptolemos, a mute (45), the chorus (92 ἡμᾶς τοσοῦσδε, 126 δοκῆτε), and Odysseus enter together. Following the directions of Odysseus (15), Neoptolemos begins the search for the cave on the hillside (20 f.). He finds it above them (29), mounts to it and describes its contents (33 ff.). He invites the chorus to draw near (145, cf. Schol. in loc.) and see the cave. Surprised at the miserable quarters, they question if it really is the hero's dwelling. Neoptolemos' reply (159) assures them that it is, and calls their attention to his previous description.

The impossibility of setting this play on the so-called 'stage' has been shown in Part I. For this is a hillside, on which actors and chorus can move easily without danger of slipping and dropping over the edge of a 12-foot stage. The proskenion is then neither that found in the theatre at Epidauros, nor that which represented the palace in the Agamemnon, but is one representing a rocky hillside sloping down to the level of the orchestra. On the slope was the cavern, to which led a path, and a spring was near (21).

Philoktetes addresses Neoptolemos and the chorus together (219), and only learns which is the leader from Neoptolemos' reply (232). V. 581 refers to the chorus as of one party with the actors, an idea which is strengthened by the ἰσσωμεν of 825. In 861 the chorus can observe the sick man closely. Later on (887) Neoptolemos proposes that the choreutae bear the lame man to the ship, and Odysseus threatens that they shall bear him away by force (983). In his reply to this last Philoktetes alludes to the chorus as near him

(984). He threatens to throw himself down from the rocks (1002), but he is seized and held by members of the chorus, all of whom are present for the express purpose of rendering the necessary assistance. *Χωρῶμεν δὴ πάντες ἀολλεῖς* (1469, cf. *ἀολλεῖς*, Trach. 513) makes us to understand clearly that chorus and actors go off the scene through the *parodos* together at the end of the play.

*Oedipus Coloneus.*

The spot is full of the bay, the olive and the vine, and nightingales are singing within the grove (17 ff.). Real trees were an impossibility, therefore the painted scenery must have been elaborate. The precinct of the Eumenides is a grove (98, 126), into which Antigone guides her father (114). When the chorus see him (138) they caution him not to remain (156) in the silent grove. A long distance separates them from him (163). They invite him to come forth; when he advances (178) they urge him to come farther (178), and then direct Antigone to lead him still farther (180). She encourages Oedipous to follow with confidence. The advancing pictured in all these passages could not refer to crossing a stage 8 ft. wide. When the Colonean goes (80) to summon the chorus of his fellow-citizens, we look for the latter to enter by the same passage through which he departed. They do this, for they declare that they will search for the intruder through the sacred *temenos* (136). In other words, in searching for an actor they search where actors are accustomed to be. There is no indication of a barrier between the orchestra proper and the grove, excepting that wall of the precinct on which the blind king sits (192). Reasoning from analogy with other passages in which chariots and animals are mentioned, we may assume that Ismene rides into the orchestra on her Aetnaean steed (312); but nothing shows that she ascends to come to her father.

Theseus appoints the chorus as a guard to Oedipous (638, cf. Schol. in loc.). He appeals to them (724). They are near (803, cf. Schol.), so that Kreon cannot seize him against their will (815, cf. Schol.). When Kreon gives command to drag Antigone away, the choreutae first threaten (835); then, though he forbids them to touch him (856), they seize and hold him (857). From 638 to 857 actors and chorus have plainly been together. To these come Theseus (885) with followers (893). It is certainly not too much to say that, as in *Philoktetes*, the scenery could not have been placed on a stage, and, further, that no Greek 'stage'

could have contained the numbers present in the scene just described, particularly in the lively action in which they were engaged.

In the plays of this second period there is a clearness of statement, with reference to place of the action and to the details of the scenery, which was lacking in the first four dramas of Aischylos. In seven of the plays just considered a building is in the background, a palace in the *Agamemnon*, the *Choephore*, *Electra*, *Antigone*, the *Trachiniae*, and *Oedipus Rex*, and a temple in the *Eumenides*. In the *Ajax* we find a tent by the sea-shore, in the *Philoctetes* a cavern on a hillside, in the *Oedipus Coloneus* the sacred precinct in the grove. The *proskenion*, however, is still a unity; that is, it represents but one building. From the *Electra* and *Oedipus Coloneus* we are justified in inferring that great advances had been made in *σκηνογραφία*, and that this was employed even where there are no clear allusions to it in the text. The teaching of the dramas is that from the *Suppliants* of Aischylos to the *Oedipus Coloneus* of Sophokles there has been much the same progress in the art of representation as in the art of composition. Yet in every play of this second period, as in those of the first, there exists the strong probability that actors and chorus make use of the same *parodoi* for entrances and exits, and in several plays the text shows that the existence of a stage was an impossibility.

JOHN PICKARD.

#### IV.—CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO LEWIS AND SHORT IN CONNECTION WITH AULUS GELLIUS.

The following notes are the outcome of a study of the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius. As my investigations progressed I found that the Lewis and Short Latin Lexicon was, for Gellius at least, a rather unsatisfactory guide. Quite often references are wrongly given, as under *argyranche* and *vocabilis* cited below; in some instances citations seem to have been hastily or carelessly made, as under *percalleo*, *salluatim*. Not enough account has been taken of the readings of Hertz, the editor of the received text of Gellius. For example, books 6 and 7 are cited in the order in which they stand in the Grönovius edition of 1706, not as they are arranged by Hertz, though even here there is some lack of consistency, for occasionally (e. g., s. v. *asseverate*, cited as 6, 5, 2) the arrangement of H. is followed. The failure to follow Hertz's edition consistently results in the omission of several words which H. was the first to introduce into the text, e. g. *jejunidicus*, *juncte*, *induvies*. The commonest shortcoming, however, is the failure, under a given word, to cite instances of its occurrence in Gellius, where such citations would add materially to the history of the word. Examples of this are to be found in the words *clanculum*, *compluriens*, *victito*, discussed below. My purpose in this article is to contribute something, though but a small portion of what ought to be done, to correcting, amending, and supplementing the Lewis and Short Lexicon, in so far as it has to do with Gellius.<sup>1</sup>

**ABJUNGO.** Add ref. to G. 12, 5, 8 a dolore autem quasi a gravi quodam inimico (sc. homo) abjunctus alienatusque est.

**ACUO** (v. L. and S. II, D) = to pronounce with an acute accent. Add G. 13, 26, in lemm.: verba P. Nigidii, quibus dicit, in nomine Valeri in casu vocandi primam syllabam acuendam esse; cf. *ibid*.

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that none of the words discussed in this article have been treated by Professor Nettleship in his *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, save in the very few instances in which his treatment has been directly mentioned or criticised.



§2. We may also compare the use of the participle *acutus* in 6, 7, in lemm.: an 'affatim,' quasi 'admodum,' prima acuta pronuntiandum sit.

AGGRESSIO. Add ref. to G. 11, 16, 6, where G., after pondering over the translation of *πολυπραγμοσύνη* into Latin, says: *ad multas igitur res aggressio earumque omnium rerum actio πολυπραγμοσύνη Graece dicitur*. Here *aggressio* seems to bear a sense more fundamental than any of those given by L. and S. or by Prof. Nettleship (Contributions), for the meaning seems to be "the entering upon, or undertaking of, many lines of business and the active prosecution of them all," etc. With this meaning cf. examples given s. v. *aggredior* II, C, of *aggredior ad* = to undertake.

AMBULACRUM occurs not once (L. and S.) but twice in Gell. Add ref., then, to 3, 1, 7 *erat tum nobiscum in eodem ambulacro*. For the meaning cf. *ibid.* §1: *hieme jam decedente apud balneas Titias in area sub calido sole . . . ambulabamus*. Add also ref. to Pl. Most. 3, 2, 128, and Morris' note on Most. 3, 2, 67.

AMENDO, -ARE, a form of *amando* in 12, 1, 22. See Nettleship s. v.

ANNOTAMENTUM is wrongly cited from 1, 17, 2, as the word is not to be found in that passage. Correct reference to 17, 2, 1.

ANNOTATIUNCULA is wrongly cited from 19, 17, 21. No such passage exists, as book 19 has but fourteen chapters. Correct reference to 17, 21, 50.

ANTONIANUS. The references might be given more clearly as 1, 22, 17; 6, 11, 3; 13, 1, 1; 13, 22, 6.

ARBITRA is wrongly cited as *ἀρ. εἰρ.* in Hor. Epod. 5, 50. The word has been discussed by Professor Nettleship. To the passages cited by him may be added G. 17, 11, 6 *sed appositam* (sc. *ἐπιλωτρίδα*) quasi moderatricem et arbitram prohibendi admittendive quod ex salutis usu foret. Here *arbitra* is the feminine of *arbiter* in the sense which it bears in Horace's *arbiter Hadriae*.

ARGENTI-FODINA. Add ref. to Cato ap. G. 2, 22, 29 set in his *regionibus ferrariae, argenti-fodinae pulcherrimae*.

ARGUTIAE. L. and S. note that "the sing. is rare and only among later writers," citing Charisius and Phocas. Prof. Nettleship writes "mostly in the pl.: . . . but Diom., p. 300 K, and other late writers use it in the sing." Both these statements may perhaps be characterized as a trifle ambiguous, as tending to give the impression that the sing. does not occur *before* the time of

Charis. or Diomedes. Prof. Nettleship himself, under meaning *acuteness, cleverness*, cites instances considerably earlier than either Charis. or Diom., e. g. Apul. M. 1, 1 and G. 3, 1, 6. To these I may add G. 1, 4, in lemm.: *quam tenuiter curioseque exploraverit Antonius Julianus in oratione M. Tullii verbi ab eo mutati argutiam*; 12, 2, 1 *levi et caustidicali argutia*.

ARGYRANCHE is wrongly cited from 9, 9. Correct to 11, 9, 1.

CAUTULUS, cited by L. and S. as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* in 1, 3, 30, is not to be found in the passage as given either by Hertz or Gronovius. H. reads *affectiones amoris atque odii intra modum cautum exercuit*. In the Gronov. edition *intra modum tantum* is given in the text, but in the notes *cautum* is mentioned with favor. The word *cautulus* is destitute of authority and should be expunged from the lexicon.

CLANCULUM is characterized as "ante-class. but frequent," and is cited only from Plautus and Terence. Add, however, G. 1, 8, 5 *ad hanc ille Demosthenes clanculum adit*. The word seems ante- and post-class.

CLUNACULA seems to be the name of a kind of weapon in 10, 25, 2; cf. *clunachus*.

COGNOMENTUM is cited but once from G., though he uses the word quite frequently. Compare, besides other places, 1, 5, in lemm.; 1, 23, in lemm.; 1, 23, 13; 4, 3, 2; 4, 20, 13; 9, 13, 2; 9, 13, 3; 12, 11, 1. The meaning is regularly *cognomen, surname*.

COMPLURIENS is wrongly characterized as "only ante-class." In 5, 21, G. defends the Latinity of *pluria, compluria, and compluriens*. Speaking of *compluriens* he writes in §16 *id quoniam minus usitatum est, versum Plauti subscripsi ex comoedia, quae Persa inscribitur*; in §17 the word is cited from Cato's Origines. After this criticism, it certainly seems odd<sup>1</sup> to find G. using the word himself in 6, 3, 5 *Rodienses pertimere ob ea, quae compluriens in coetibus populi acta dictaque erant*. This passage is interesting, in that it is the only place of those thus far cited in which the word has been preserved naturally, so to speak. In all the other instances it has been preserved artificially through citations by Gellius, Nonius, and Festus.

COMPTIUS, comparative of *comple* (see s. v. *como*), is cited wrongly as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* 7 (6), 3, 53, as the word is not to be found in

<sup>1</sup>G. strongly condemns the use of archaic and obsolete or newly coined words; cf. 1, 10; 11, 7. With Gell. theory and practice often differ widely: see on *quoque* and *privus*, infra.

the passage as given by H. The Gron. edition had the word, with a note, however, to the effect that it was lacking in MS authority. The word should therefore be expunged from the lexicon.

CONDORMISCO, "only in Plaut." Compare, however, G. 6, 1, 3 cum absente marito cubans sola condormisset. The word seems to be ante- and post-classical.

CONSISTIO and CONSTITIO are both cited from G. 16, 5, 10 and Macr. Sat. 6, 8, 20. Hertz in Gellius and Eyssenhart in Macr. both read *consistio*; hence *constitio* should be expunged from the lexicon, or, if it be permitted to remain, a note should be added to the effect that it is merely a variant for the better supported *consistio*. The first alternative seems preferable. Further, it may be noted that *consistio* itself is practically a Vox Gelliana, since the Macr. passage is taken almost verbatim from G.

CONTERMINUS is used in 12, 13, 9 as a gramm. t. t.: sunt ergo haec omnia (sc. verba, i. e. *citra*, *ultra*, *intra*) quasi contermina. The meaning seems to be *with same ending, ending in same syllable*. *Quasi* marks this meaning as unusual.

DEFINITE by a misprint is cited as Gell. 1, 257 al. It should read 1, 25, 7.

DELPHINEROMENOS, to be added to lexicon from 6, 8, 6. G. is giving from Apion's Aegyptiaca the story of a dolphin who loved a boy. He writes postea ille puer delphineromenos morbo adfectus obit suum diem. Gronovius favored the same reading, remarking "(sic) monere occupavit Salmasius in Addendis ad Solinum." Liddell and Scott, s. v. *ἐράω*, cite *ἐρῶν* = *a lover*, Pind. O. 1, 128; *ἡ ἐρωμένη*, *the beloved one*, Herod. 3, 36; *τὸν ἐρώμενον αὐτοῦ* = *delicias eius*, Arist. Pol. 4, 5, 2. The meaning of *puer delphineromenus* is therefore *puer delphini deliciae*; *the boy loved by the dolphin*. The word is thus the passive of the phrase in the lemma of the chapter *res . . . super delphino amatore* and that used of the dolphin in §7 *at ille amans*. Liddell and Scott cite three compounds of *δελφίς*, *δελφινοειδής*, *δελφινόσημος*, *δελφινόφορος*. For compounds of *ἐρώμενος* see Diom., p. 326 K, where *ἐρωμενοπάροχος*, *ἐρωμενοπώλης*, *ἐρωμεναγοραστής* are given, also *amicosus* = *πολυερώμενος*, *having many mistresses*.

DIUDICATIO is not, as L. and S. say, *ἀπ. εἶρ.* in Cic. Leg. 1, 21, 56, for in G. 2, 23, in lemm. we read *consultatio diiudicatioque locorum . . . ex comoedia Menandri et Caecili* "a comparison and critical examination of passages," etc.

**EDUCATOR.** In 12, 1, 8 Favorinus says *pleraeque istae prodigiosae mulieres fontem illum sanctissimum corporis, generis humani educatorem*, where *fons . . . corporis* = the *feminarum mamma*. *Educator* here seems to bear a sense more fundamental than either of the two cited in lexicon. I should arrange the meanings thus: I. properly, *supporter, nourisher*, G. 12, 1, 8; II. *foster-father*; III. trans. *tutor, pedagogue*.

**ELUCTOR**, as active verb (s. v. II). Add G. 12, 5, 10 *haec . . . sapiens . . . eluctari potest*.

**ENUCLEATE** is cited in positive only from Cicero. Add G. 12, 13, 17 *ea omnia cum Apollinaris scite perquam atque enucleate disputavisset*. The meaning *plainly, without ornament of speech* given in lex. will not suit the passage in G., where the meaning is rather *cleverly, wisely*, as is shown by the fact that *enucleate* is coupled with *scite*, in accordance with Gellius' well-known habit of coupling two or more verbs, adjectives, adverbs, or nouns of similar or identical meaning to express a single idea. *Scite* in G. has the meaning of *skilfully, cleverly*. In 2, 21, 3; 5, 3, 4 it is coupled with *perite*; its opposite *inscite* is coupled with *imperfecte* in 2, 8, 1, with *barbare* in 4, 8, in lemm. Hence *enucleate* l. l. = *cleverly, wisely*. Cf. 19, 8, 14, where *enucleo* = *to explain*. See further Sandys on Cic. Or. 9, 28.

**EXTREMITAS** is used as a gramm. t. t. = *ending, suffix* in 11, 15, 8 *ut productio haec et extremitas largam et fluentem vim et copiam declararet*. The suffix referred to is *bündus* in words like *errabundus, ludibundus*.

**FUCATUS**. In ref. s. v. to G. 13, 27, 3, the passage is cited wrongly as versus Homeri fucator. It should read versus Vergilii fucator (opp. to versus Homeri simplicior et sincerior).

**GRATULABUNDUS**. Add 3, 15, 3 *populus gratulabundus*; 5, 14, 4 *laetos et gratulabundos videres hominem et leonem*.

**HERCULANUS** (s. v. Hercules II C) is wrongly defined as *long, large*. The text runs *comprehensa autem mensura Herculani pedis*, the meaning plainly being "having thus obtained the measure of Hercules' foot." *Herculani* then = a simple genitive *Herculis*. G. often uses a derivative proper adj. in *anus* instead of the genitive of the personal name from which the adj. comes, e. g. 10, 17, 4 versus *Laberiani sunt*; 10, 24, 5 *venit ecce illius versus Pomponiani in mentem*; 1, 7, 1 *libro . . . Tironiana cura . . . facto*; 1, 15, 18; 10, 26, 9.

**IMPARILITAS** is wrongly cited as Nigid. ap. Gell. 14, 1, 22. The speaker throughout this chapter is Favorinus, not Nigidius.



The error in *lex.* may have arisen from the fact that the name of Nigidius is mentioned in §11, while that of Favorinus is not mentioned after §1 till §34. In §11 Nigidius is brought in as an aside, so to speak, merely as an authority for the name *errones* = planets.

**IMPUGNATUS.** By a confusion similar to that noted above s. v. *consistio*, L. and S. cite from G. 1, 6, 4 both *impugnatus* (*ἀπ. εἰρ.*) and *impropugnatus*, the reading of H. *Impugnatus* is defined as *not attacked, unassailed*, a meaning which does not suit the passage, which runs: *praeterea turpe esse ait rhetori, si quid in mala causa destitutum atque impropugnatum*. The context shows the meaning to be "it is a disgrace to a rhetorician if in a bad cause he fails to assert and to maintain or defend any position whatever." That the meaning *unassailed* is not appropriate was seen by Gronovius, who, though reading *impugnatum*, explained it as *non defensum, sine pugna vel certamine relictum*, a sense which the word could hardly bear. Hertz' reading *impropugnatus* gives exactly the meaning required. Further, the word occurs in Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>1</sup> who not unfrequently adopts words coined by Gell., e. g. *consarcinare, evibrare, incohibilis, inconivens, undabundus*. None of these words seems to occur outside of Gell. and Amm. To sum up, I should recommend that *impugnatus* be stricken out of the lexicon.

**INCLINAMENTUM** is cited as *ἀπ. εἰρ.* Nigid. ap. Gell. 4, 9, 2, but cf. 4, 9, 12, where G. uses the word himself.

**INDUVIES.** Add to *lex.* as read by Hertz in 9, 13, 3: *causam cognomenti fuisse accepimus torquis ex auro induvies, quam ex hoste, quem occiderat, detractam induit*. The edition of Thysius and Oisellius (1666) read *induvias*, on which Gronovius remarked "sed Mssti fere consensu agnoscunt *induvies*." *Induvies* seems to be *plurale tantum*, like *exuviae, induviae*, and = *ornament, indumentum*, for which word cf. G. 16, 19, 12.

**INENARRABILIS, -E.** Add ref. to 13, 29, 4 *quodam sensu inenarrabili*. Cf. also 17, 10, 17.

**INSALUBRIS, -E,** of wine, in 13, 5, 5.

**INUSITATE.** For the compar. add ref. to 11, 15, 1 *verbo inusitatius ficto*.

**JEJUNIDICUS** is to be added to *lex.* as read by Hertz in 6, 14, 5. G. has been saying that both in poetry and in prose there are *tria*

<sup>1</sup> Ammianus has been called "imitator studiosissimus Gellii." See Hertz, Critical Edition, vol. II, p. viii.

*genera dicendi* which have met with approval, known respectively as *uber*, *gracilis*, and *mediocris*. Opposed to these excellences are three faulty styles, quae earum modum et habitum simulacris falsis ementiuntur. Sic plerumque sufflati atque tumidi fallunt pro uberibus, squalentes et ieiunidici pro gracilibus, incerti et ambigui pro mediocribus.<sup>1</sup> For the meaning of *squalentes* see Sandys' notes on *squalidiora*, Cic. Or. §115; on *horrida*, ibid. §20. For *ieiunidici* cf. *jejuni* *dicere*, cited twice from Cicero. The word then means *those who are lacking in taste and force*. Further, the word has an archaic ring and may be compared with *spurcidicus*, Pl. Capt. 56; *saevidicus*, Ter. Phor. 213; *suavidicus*, Lucr. 4, 180; *falsidicus*, Pl. Capt. 671.

JUNCTE. Add to lex. as read by H. in G. 6, 10, 1 ut haec 'ususcapio' dicitur copulato vocabulo, a littera in eo tractim pronuntiata, ita 'pignoriscapio' juncte et producte dicebatur. *Juncte* here is synonymous with *conjuncte* and *copulate* found in the lemma of the chapter. The meaning can only be given by a paraphrase, thus: "*pignoriscapio* was used as a compound word and pronounced with a long vowel."

MODERATRIX. Add ref. to 17, 11, 6.

MUTITO is characterized as "ante-class." and then cited only from Gellius. It would be more correct to say that the word, though found only in G., is evidently derived by him from some old legal formula. See 2, 24, 2.

NUGALIS, -E. The lex. seems to be rather confused. I cite in full: "frivolous, trifling, worthless, empty (post-class.); theoremata, Gell. 1, 2, 6; Mart. Cap. 1, §2, Kopp; scholica quaedam, id. 4, 1, 1; 7, 17, 3, etc." The last two references should be corrected so as to read *Gell.* 4, 1, 1; 6, 17, 3.

OBRIGESCO. Under meaning I, C, add ref. to 12, 5, 11 quare . . . cur aut in ardoribus solis aestuet aut in pruinis immanibus obrigescat.

OBSURDESCO, properly *to become deaf*, is used in the general sense of *to be lacking in ability, to be dull of understanding*, in 12, 1, 11 cur igitur iste, qui hoc dicit, si in capessendis naturae sensibus tam obscurdit . . . The meaning seems to be "if he is so lacking in ability to comprehend the designs of nature." For a similar transfer cf. *obmutescere* = *cessare* in Cic. C. M., §23.

<sup>1</sup>On this whole subject see Cic. Or. §20 sqq., with Sandys' notes. This passage from Gellius might well have been cited by Sandys.

OPICUS, *a boor, clown*. Add ref. to 2, 21, 4 *quid vos opici dicitis mihi?*; and 11, 16, 7 *tum ille opicus*.

OVIS. Additional authority for the use of this word in the masc. gender is to be found in 11, 1, 4 (not cited in *lex.*), where G. gives the legal formula used by the magistrates in pronouncing fines, and cites from Varro: *M. Terentio, quando citatus neque respondit neque excusatus est, Ego ei unum ovem multam dico, adding nisi eo genere diceretur, negaverunt justam videri multam.*

PERCALLEO is cited from G. 17, 17, 2, where we read *Mithridates . . . duarum et viginti gentium linguas percalluit*. The same passage is cited by *lex. s. v. percallesco*. Since *percalleo* seems to be found nowhere else, and *percalluit* l. l. may well be taken from *percallesco*, a word used even by Cicero, I see no reason for inventing the word *percalleo* to suit 17, 17, 2, and should therefore strike it out of the lexicon entirely. Further, *s. v. percallesco* II, add ref. to G. 13, 10, 1 *vocum origines rationesque percalluerat*.

PERPETUITAS. Add ref. to 12, 5, 7 *conservandae hominum perpetuitatis*.

PRENSIO. Correct references from 12, 12, 4; 6 to 13, 12, 4; 13, 12, 6 and add Varro ap. G. 13, 13, 4; 13, 13, 5.

PRIVATIO. Add G. 7, 1, 4 *quid aliud justitia est quam injustitiae privatio*.

PRIVUS, -A, -UM, in meaning I, = *singulus, single*. Add 11, 16, 1. In 10, 20, 4, in discussing the word *privilegium*, G. remarks that *veteres priva dixerunt quae nos singula dicimus*. (See Munro on *Lucr.* 3, 372.) Here G. distinctly marks the word as an archaism. In 11, 16, 1 the case is different, for there G. uses the word himself in what may be called a literary way: *adiecimus saepe animum ad vocabula rerum non paucissima quae neque singulis verbis, ut a Graecis, neque si maxime pluribus eas res verbis dicamus, tam dilucide tamque apte demonstrari Latina oratione possunt quam Graeci ea dicunt privis vocibus*. Here the phrases *singulis verbis* and *privis vocibus* are absolutely synonymous.

PROBRUS, -A, -UM, is not *ἀπ. εἶρ.* in 9, 2, 9, for we find it in 1, 5, 2 *maledictis compellationibusque probris*.

PRODUCTIO. Add ref. to 11, 15, 6, where the word seems to be used as a gramm. t. t. in the sense of *suffix, ending*. Add also 11, 15, 8, where the word is coupled with *extremitas* (q. v. *supra*).

PROPAGO is cited by Lewis and Short as masc. Fab. Pict. ap. G. 10, 15, 13; the masc. is given also in the citation of the passage s. v. *praetendo*. So Gron. read, but Hertz reads *propagines* . . . *praetentas*, thus making the word conform to its usual gender. Hence correct both places in lex.

PROSUMIA, a *spy-boat*. Add ref. to 10, 25, 5, where G. is giving from memory a list of *navigiorum genera et nomina quae in historiis veteribus scripta sunt*.

PROTERREO. Add ref. to 13, 31, 13 ille egregius nebulo, quasi difficili quaestione proterritus.

QUANTUSVIS is wrongly cited from 4, 1, 2. Correct to 14, 1, 5 *quantovis hominis ingenio*.

QUOQUE (L. and S. II) = *quidem*, in phrase *ne—quoque*. After citing the phrase from Claudius Quadrigarius, G. (17, 2, 18) adds this comment: *ne id quoque dixit pro ne id quidem, infrequens nunc in loquendo, sed in libris veterum creberrimum*. With his love of archaisms, G. uses the word himself in 1, 2, 5; 11, 5, 4; 20, 1, 5, all of which passages should be added to the lexicon.

SALTUATIM is quoted from 9, 4, 9, where, however, H. reads *sallatim*, under which word also the passage is cited. Strike out the citation under *saltuatim*.

SENTENTIOLA. Add ref. to 9, 16, 7.

SICILIS, a kind of weapon. Add 10, 25, 2.

SPARUS, a weapon. Cf. 10, 25, 2.

SPATHA, a weapon. Ibid.

STABULATIO is not, as L. and S. say, *ἀπ. εἰρ.* in Col. 6, 3, 1, for it may be found in G. 16, 5, 10 and Macr. S. 6, 8, 2. (The passage in Macr. is nearly identical with that in G.)

SUBSICIVUS, -A, -UM. Under lex. s. v. II, add 18, 10, 8 *quantum habui temporis subsicivi*; under II, C, add 13, 25, 4 *vocum Latinarum quas subsicivo aut tumultuario studio colo*, "which I pursue irregularly, without systematic effort."

SUCCUSSOR. Add ref. to Lucil. ap. G. 1, 16, 11 (= Non. 16, 31 cited in lex.).

SUPER = *de, concerning* (see L. and S. s. v. II, B, 2, b). Not a single instance of this use is quoted there from G., though it forms one of the striking characteristics of his style. The exact equivalence of *super* and *de* is shown by passages where they stand side by side, e. g. 1, 19, in lemm., *historia super libris Sibyllinis ac de Tarquinio Superbo rege*; cf. 2, 22, in lemm.; 2, 22, 2; 9, 12, 19. The phrase *super ea re* occurs 34 times in the twenty



books, while of *super* = *de* in other phrases 103 instances are to be found in the same books.

TOLERANTIA. Add G. 12, 5, 3; Tert. De Cor. Mil. 14.

TRICOSUS. Add Lucil. ap. G. 11, 7, 9.

VERUTUM, a kind of weapon. Cf. 10, 25, 2.

VICTITO is called "ante-class" and cited only from Pl. and Ter., but compare G. 4, 11, 6 *porculis quoque minusculis et haedio tenerioribus victitasse idem Aristoxenus refert*; 9, 4, 10 *gentem . . . nullo cibatu vescentem, sed spiritu florum naribus haustu victitantem*.

VOCABILIS is wrongly cited from 30, 20, 14. No such passage, of course, exists. Correct to 13, 21 (Hertz), 14.

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## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. A Revised Text, with an Introduction, Critical and Explanatory Notes, Testimonia and Indices. By JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, Litt. D., etc. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1893. Pp. lxxx, 302. 15s.

Readers of the London *Times* were startled, on the morning of January 19, 1891, by the announcement of the discovery, and prospective publication by the British Museum, of Aristotle's long-lost treatise on the Athenian Commonwealth. Eleven days later the *editio princeps* appeared, prepared by Mr. F. G. Kenyon. With some superficial blemishes, due in large part to haste in publication, the edition gave evidence of the editor's extraordinary skill in deciphering the crabbed cursive hands of the papyrus, and of the general soundness of his judgments on the historical questions raised for the first time by the recovery of the lost work. To the promptness of the authorities of the British Museum, in happy contrast with the delays of some other like institutions on the Continent, the world of scholarship owes no slight debt. But for that, and for the success of most of Mr. Kenyon's original readings, one may safely say we might even now be waiting for a satisfactory edition of the text.

The announcement made within a few weeks after the appearance of Mr. Kenyon's book, that Dr. Sandys, who was among the first to greet the discovery, was preparing a critical and explanatory edition, was received with much satisfaction by all scholars who knew his broad and graceful scholarship, already tested in the fields of Athenian institutions and of Aristotelian criticism. This promised edition is now before us. The preface is dated December 27, 1892, the year following the first issue of the work. That within so brief a space of time a treatise on the whole so complete, comprehensive and sound could have appeared is not only most creditable to the editor's ability, but is an interesting indication of the vigorous vitality, splendid reach and vast resources of the classical scholarship of to-day. In a period of less than two years an important classic has been recovered; has been published in at least five independent and noteworthy critical editions; has been translated into nearly all the languages of Europe; a bulky literature of explanation and illustration has sprung up relating to it; it has been explored from all possible points of view, from those of language, style, subject-matter, in its relation to history, antiquities, palaeography. Each latest writer has had the benefit of the results reached by his predecessors. But as matters have by no means been brought to a definite conclusion, each investigator has thus far shared something of the spirit of the original explorer, and has always been called upon to exercise his judgment and critical faculty in deciding between variant views and propositions. Much foolishness has been written, and at times "the wild asses of philology" have been in evidence, but

in the main there has been distinct progress, both in the construction and in the explanation of the text, and unanimity has finally been reached on numerous points on which, until recently, there had been wide differences of opinion. Some fundamental problems have been solved. The question whether there are, between the Politics of Aristotle and the Constitution, differences so radical—in the matter of language, style, subject-matter and sentiments—as to make common authorship impossible, has been answered in the negative by scholars who have separately examined the topics included in such an enquiry. An absolute consensus of opinion has not been reached on all points, and probably will never be reached. On the matter of the authorship, the radical and the conservative views have found abundant expression, and the case has been strongly put for both sides. That there should be a general trend of opinion in favor of Aristotelian authorship is more significant now than it was a year ago, when many elements of the problem had not yet been taken into consideration.

Next to the *editio princeps*, the edition of Dr. Sandys is the most important contribution to the literature of the Constitution that has yet appeared. And this not by reason of essential originality, though everywhere in it are to be found acute and novel observations and most happy suggestions, but mainly because the author has gathered, with just grasp of the subject, the manifold results of recent study, has tested and weighed them with insight and sobriety, and has given the product in a clear and attractive form. Work more original has been done on the treatise by others—as the emendations and restorations of Blass, Kaibel-Wilamowitz, and several English scholars; the special studies of particular topics by Bauer, Busolt, the Cauers, Diels, Gomperz, Bruno Keil, Köhler, Lipsius, P. Meyer, Newman, Théodore Reinach, Rühl, and others—but nowhere have these special inquiries found a more judicious critic or a happier expounder than in Dr. Sandys. His edition stands alone in the attention paid to matters of verbal criticism—in general, to the details of scholarship as brought to bear on a classic—and to the comparison, with the fresh evidence, of our traditional knowledge of Athenian constitutional history and of legal antiquities: it abounds in illustrative material borrowed mainly from ancient historians, writers on antiquities, grammarians, lexicographers, and from Athenian inscriptions. Aristotle's other works have been abundantly drawn upon. The text has been constructed by the editor after due consideration of the readings proposed, and after repeated examinations of the papyrus itself. The importance of a resort to the papyrus, and the failure of the facsimile in cases of last appeal, are well seen in the changes Blass has been obliged to suggest (October, 1892), after inspecting the papyrus, in the readings proposed in his text-edition (January, 1892). Beneath Dr. Sandys's text, as printed, stand the *variae lectiones* and the *testimonia*. The former, though only a selection from the countless number published, comprise, if I am not mistaken, all the readings proposed in the editions of Kenyon (the third), of Kaibel-Wilamowitz, of Herwerden-Leeuwen, and of Blass, not to speak of ingenious and successful suggestions of many other scholars. The readings of the papyrus, where different from the text, are given in an attractive cursive 'uncial,' which suggests well enough for practical purposes the original forms of the letters. Dr. Sandys is not, however, perfectly consistent in the non-use

of spaces between words thus given in facsimile. The *testimonia* give the full text of all the passages in extant post-Aristotelian literature, thus far identified, that are believed to be taken more or less directly from the original treatise. Dr. Sandys has gathered under this head several passages not previously cited in the connections in which he cites them. The explanatory notes, printed on the same page with the text, are extremely copious, and, in keeping with the universality of the classical scholarship of the present time, cover a large number of topics. At many points the traditional, or the prevalent, views are criticised and corrected: especially valuable to the student are the corrections of Grote. In all these matters a happy proportion has been observed, and controversy has been wisely kept subordinate to positive exposition and elucidation. In an appendix are printed the fragments supposed by Rose and others to have belonged to this book, but not occurring in the recovered portion; here also is found the text of the Heracleidean Excerpts. An excellent *Index Graecitatis* gives us a concordance to the treatise, except that some of the more frequently recurring words are not indexed in full—the omissions are ἀπό, γάρ, δέ, δοκῶ, ἐαυτοῦ, ἐθέλω, εἰμί, εἰς, ἐκάτερος, ἐν, ἐπί, ἐρχομαι, ἕτερος, ἔτος, ἔχω, ἦ, καί, μὲν . . . δέ, μή, μηδέ, μηδεῖς, μήτε, νῦν, οἶδα, ὅταν, ὅτε, ὅτι, οὐ, οὐδέ, οὐδεῖς, οὗτος, οὕτω, some of which are to be regretted. By typographical devices one can distinguish at a glance all words absolutely new, and all words not found in Bonitz's *Index Aristotelicus*. Some of the lexical articles are very full. An English index finally calls attention to proper names, to subjects discussed in the text and notes, as also to the views of many recent writers on the Constitution.

The text is preceded by an introduction of eighty pages, in which, among other topics, the following are treated: the political literature of Greece before the time of Aristotle; political works ascribed to Aristotle; evidence of ancient authorities on the authorship of the *Πολιτεῖαι*; the later literature of the *Πολιτεῖαι*; the Berlin fragments; the British Museum papyrus; date and authorship of the treatise; and the authorities followed in it. A full abstract of its contents, given for the most part in a condensed translation, and an extremely copious conspectus of recent literature—comprising more than one hundred and eighty titles—add greatly to the value of the book. In the closing pages of the introduction the effort is made to bring the subject down to the date of publication. It is worth noting that this material received since the larger part of the book was put into type is mainly supplemental, and only seldom tends actually to correct the original statements of the editor. Finally there are several good cuts, viz. a *πινάκιον*, Athenian coins, heliastic *σύμβολα*, bronze *ψήφοι*, *κλήροι*, etc.

Of the topics discussed in the introduction there are several which have by no means arrived at their final stage. Repeated examination and comparison of the later historical and kindred literature, both in fragments and in complete works, must be made before the last word can be uttered on at least these three important questions, viz. the evidence in ancient writers upon the authorship of the book, the use of the Constitution by later writers, and the authorities followed in it.

Dr. Sandys accepts the Aristotelian authorship of the treatise, and is inclined to adopt the argument by which, in this Journal (XII, pp. 310 ff.), I



have attempted to show that Philochorus, in the generation following Aristotle, quoted the Constitution as Aristotle's. For this attitude of mind he has been taken to task by Mr. H. Richards in the *Classical Review* (VII, pp. 210 f.). Since Mr. Richards has slightly misapprehended my positions, it may not be out of place for me here briefly to restate the main propositions, referring the reader to the article for the fuller discussion. My "third argument" is the only one that really aims to prove that Philochorus cited Aristotle *by name*: the other two are introductory. It having been shown, in argument I, that Philochorus quoted by name many of his authorities, and, in argument II, that he had quoted from the Constitution, a presumption was established in favor of the proposition that, in citing the Constitution, he would have mentioned Aristotle's name if the work were Aristotle's. In argument III was pointed out what appeared to be a distinct case of such quotation by name. I there aimed to show that Aelian, or the authority from which he drew, had before him an extract from Philochorus concerning several events that took place before the battle of Salamis; that in this extract the name of Aristotle occurred as authority for a certain statement, which is found in the Constitution and is by Plutarch actually assigned to Aristotle. (This Philochorean extract lies at the bottom of Plut. Them. 10: Plutarch was in the habit of drawing from Philochorus.) Now, Aelian abridged the extract (N. H. XII 35), recording only one incident, but he gives as his authorities the names both of Philochorus, from whom he drew it, and of Aristotle mentioned in the fuller account, the latter's name for the purpose of lending greater credibility to his story. (Similar double but not independent citations of authorities are extremely frequent in the literature of the same class as Aelian's works: e. g. 'as Aristophanes and Didymus say'—in a scholium—does not mean that the scholiast has an independent knowledge of both Aristophanes's and Didymus's views on the subject in question, but that Didymus, whom he is transcribing in epitome, quotes Aristophanes as saying so and so.) In short, the presence of Aristotle's name in Aelian can be most reasonably explained on the hypothesis that Philochorus quoted from the Constitution and named Aristotle as the author. Other explanations are less satisfactory. It is not claimed that the argument amounts to an absolute demonstration, but only that it leads to what is to a very high degree probable.

Much of the originality of this edition lies in the readings and restorations proposed by the editor. It will be well, therefore, here to register the more characteristic of these readings, referring the reader to the English index for clues to many others suggested in the notes but rejected on the final choice. The readings in the text original with Dr. Sandys and here proposed for the first time are the following: Chapter 3, §2, line 6 (of the chapter) αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐξ [ἀρχ]ῆς ἦν. §3, 13 ἀνταποδοθεῖσιν τῶν ἀρχοντι δωρεῶν. §5, 22 ἀλλήλων. ᾤκησαν.—C. 4, §2, 13 ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τέλους παρασχομένους. §3, 16 [δι]ελθεῖν.—C. 8, §4, 24 τὴν πρόφασιν τοῦ πράττειν.—C. 38, §1, 7 ἐπέστελλον.—C. 45, §1, 3 καὶ αὐθιμερόν.—C. 54, §7, 32, 33 [ἄλλα] δὲ πρόκειται [κατὰ τὰ ψη]φίσματα τὰ ἐπὶ Κημισοφῶντος ἀρχόντος.—C. 57, §4, 25 δικάζουσι[ν ἐν ἡλί]αι[α] καὶ ὑπαίθριοι.—Fragm. Col. 31, 1-3 τ]ὰ δὲ [κυβώτια ταῖς φυλ]αῖς [κατατίθενται] | πρόσθεν [τῶν ἀρχόντων κ]αθ' ἑκάστην τῇ[ν φυ-] | λήν. 27 καὶ [π]ρο[δεί]ξας αὐτῇ[ν ἀνέχ]ων τὸ γράμμα.—Col. 32, 9 ἐπιγέγραπται πᾶσιν. 15, 16 ταύτην τὴν ἀρχήν, κατὰ [τ]ὴν τάξιν

ἀπο- | δὸν]ς τὴν βακτηρίαν . . . . . THC [τὸν] | [α]ὐ[τὸν] τρόπον. 19 οἱ δημοσίαι  
[ὑπὲρ | τῇ]ς φυλῆς. But this list gives only an imperfect idea of the editor's  
independence: the punctuation, the choice between readings proposed by  
other scholars, as well as the editor's own suggestions, bear constant witness  
to the soundness and the caution of his judgment.

Of course, in a book of the range of this edition it is inevitable that not a  
few things should be said which cannot meet with entire assent. In what  
follows I venture to submit some criticisms, corrections and comments suggested  
by a rapid reading of the greater part of the book.

(1) Dr. Sandys more than once insists that Plutarch must have had a first-  
hand acquaintance with the Constitution, and in support of his contention  
appeals to instances of verbal coincidences of expression in Plutarch and  
in the Constitution. But verbal coincidences are not sufficient to establish  
such a claim. An abridgment of the Constitution would contain many of the  
identical words and phrases of the original book. Now at c. 10 we have a  
passage full of instruction on this whole matter. Aristotle writes, speaking of  
the obscurity of Solon's laws, *οἰονται μὲν οὖν τινὲς ἐπίτηδες ἀσαφεῖς αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι  
τοὺς νόμους, ὅπως ἢ τῆς κρίσεως ὁ δῆμος κύριος*. Plutarch, on the other hand  
(Sol. 18), says *λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀσαφέστερον γράφας κτλ.* Plutarch here  
has before him—or Plutarch's authority (Hermippus?)—not Aristotle, but rather  
one of the writers (*τινὲς*) whose views Aristotle mentions to controvert (perhaps  
Androtion). If he had had before him the exact words of Aristotle, his sen-  
tence could not have taken its present form. Not a few of the coincidences in  
language between Plutarch and Aristotle may be explained on the supposition  
of their drawing from the same historical writer, who at not a few points  
appears to have been Androtion. Bruno Keil has demonstrated this relation  
and reference for the account of the *σεισάχθεια*, and Hude for the story of  
Harmodius and Aristogeiton. Some of the radical inconsistencies of state-  
ment in Plutarch's narrative and Aristotle's historical sketch might—it is  
true—be explained, with Mr. Kenyon, on the theory that Plutarch took  
abundant, but by no means complete, notes of his reading, and that when he  
wove his notes into the texture of his narrative, he was led to make connecting  
statements which were inconsistent with the full text of the original work.  
That Plutarch took notes of his reading for future use is incontrovertible;  
indeed, with the roll form of books, which made ready reference to a given  
passage extremely irksome, and the verification of references a vast labor,  
such a procedure is the only one conceivable. But the peculiar omissions of  
highly important facts and the varied order in which subjects are brought up  
seem to point to another explanation, at least for many of the phenomena.  
Plutarch did not make his own abridgment of the Constitution, at least in his  
life of Solon. Here he took his Aristotle at second-hand, doubtless through  
Hermippus, whose life of Solon was one of his chief authorities, and through  
Didymus. This view does not preclude the possibility of Plutarch's elsewhere  
making a first-hand use of Aristotle, though in such places, to judge from  
his literary habits, we should have expected him to give the name of an  
authority so distinguished, whereas, in fact, he almost never names him.

(2) Dr. Sandys is disposed to reject the account of the Draconian constitu-  
tion as an interpolation, herein following Headlam, Reinach and others. But,

at least so far as language and style are concerned, this c. 4 is of the same tissue as the remainder of the work, and the historical facts which it brings to our notice are not radically inconsistent with our other positive knowledge on the subject. The case for the rejection of this chapter has not yet been made out. The extraordinary similarity of the Draconian constitution to that proposed under the Four Hundred may quite as well be explained on the theory of a revival as on that of an anachronism. Everywhere in the closing years of the fifth century the oligarchic party in Athens was seeking to strengthen itself by a revival of the most ancient institutions. Probably, however, the account of the Draconian constitution, which Aristotle took as his source, was drawn up by some historical writer after the establishment of the constitution of the Four Hundred, and this fact may have led to a slight confusion, on the part of the historian, between the two forms, the ancient constitution and its revival, and to an incidental ascription, in some minor details, of features of the later constitution to the older one. But in its broad outlines the Aristotelian account of the Draconian constitution must be recognized both as historic and as part of the original treatise.

(3) If large interpolations must be found in the Constitution, I am surprised that no one has insisted that c. 12, containing the poetical extracts, should be suspected. It breaks the sequence of the narrative continued from the close of c. 11 on to c. 13: the *διὰ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας* of c. 13 refers, not to the closing words of c. 12, but to those of c. 11. But we are not obliged to accept the theory of a late interpolation. The writer of the treatise may well have inserted the poetical extracts himself, as an after-thought, forgetting, however, to correct and adjust the *juncturae*.

(4) There is very little punctuation in the papyrus, but the slight indications that do exist might have been made more of. The *παράγραφος* is plainly evident at col. 1, under line 40, and at col. 8, under line 20. The former indicates that what we call c. 3 should have ended with the words *ἣ μὲν οὖν πρώτη πολιτεία ταύτην εἶχε τὴν ὑπογραφὴν*, which, accordingly, should not have been thrown into the next chapter. This division is significant for the purpose of dividing into paragraphs other passages in Aristotle where a like expression occurs. The highly ornate *παράγραφος* at col. 8, line 20, shows that a main division of the work closed at that point, viz. the history of the tyranny of Peisistratus and his sons. But none of the editors make even a chapter division at this point. These *παράγραφοι*, it is assumed, are a tradition from the manuscript from which our copy was made, being transcribed from it hastily, and not originally inserted by the scribe. This last fact appears from the *παράγραφος* at col. 2, under line 4, which was dashed in too soon by a line.

(5) Something can be said for an earlier date for the transcription of the papyrus than the third century A. D. I have elsewhere sought to show that the bailliff's accounts which stand on the *recto*, written A. D. 78-79, had not lost their value at the time the Constitution was copied (Proc. Am. Philol. Assoc. 1892, p. xxviii). Significant here is the blank back of the broad column 11—of which Dr. Sandys does not speak—so placed at the end of the first roll as to protect the accounts from injury when the roll is rolled up with the Aristotle within. This points to a date not far from 100 A. D., rather than to one a hundred or more years later.

(6) On p. liv Dr. Sandys gives a most ingenious argument, by which he shows that the lost initial portion of the Constitution did not amount to more than fifty lines: the argument is based in part on the quires apparently required by the leaves of the Berlin fragments.

(7) It is to be regretted that the editor has not cleared up the subject of the several classes of authorities to whom Aristotle refers, in his frequently recurring *οἱ δημοτικοί, ἐνιοί, τινές* κτλ.

(8) The Constitution really falls into three grand divisions (not into two), viz. 1. Sketch of constitutional history down to about 411 B. C., cc. 1-28; 2. Documentary account of the oligarchic revolutions and of the Restoration (411-403 B. C.), cc. 29-40, with c. 41, resumé of the previous historical survey; 3. Description of the body politic, cc. 42 ff.

(9) On c. 4, §1, 11 the *πρωτάνεις* are identified with archons; but if this be correct, and I believe that it is, what must Herodotus's *πρωτάνεις τῶν ναυκράων* mean (VI 71)? Is not τῶν ναυκράων here a gloss—of Herodotus's own making, to be sure? If, however, Dr. Sandys insists on rejecting c. 4 as a later interpolation, perhaps the fiction of some oligarchic sympathizer in the fifth century, he certainly cannot take *πρωτάνεις*, as here used without explanation or qualification, in any other sense than that current in the fifth and fourth century, 'members of the senate's presiding committee.'

(10) Possibly the following reading of the Diphilus inscription (c. 7, §4) may solve difficulties untouched by the other readings: *Δίφιλος Ἀνθεμίωνος τήνδ' ἀνέθηκε θεοῖσι | θητικῶν ἀντὶ τέλους ἰππᾶδ' ἀμειψάμενος*. The faulty diaeresis after the third foot, though extremely rare, has its analogues on the stones (Allen, Greek Versification in Inscriptions, p. 56); in fact, in the cacophonous *σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδ' ἔχει σόν, Δίφιλε, γαῖα θανόντος* (Allen, No. 57 = Kekulé, Theseion, n. 224), which partially resembles our first line, we have the name Diphilus. This reading makes it possible to retain the *Δίφιλον* in the introductory remark, and supplies an hexameter line, such as it is. That the text, however, as given in the papyrus, is an ancient corruption is apparent from Pollux, VIII 131.

(11) The dates of Peisistratus' life (c. 14) are discussed with much discernment. But two or three considerations, not weighed by Dr. Sandys, may be suggested. (a) In §4 the *μετὰ ταῦτα* in *ἔπει δὲ δωδεκάτῳ μετὰ ταῦτα*, by an idiom very frequent in the Constitution, may refer to τὴν πρώτην κατάστασιν, as Kaibel-Kiessling take it (Harvard Studies, III, p. 68, note): this renders unnecessary any change in *δωδεκάτῳ*. (b) According to the Parian Marble, Peisistratus introduced tragedy into Athens in B. C. 536: hence, if we are to trust the Marble, this year cannot have been one of the years when he was in exile (so Kenyon, Köhler, Reinach?). (c) In Isocrates, XVI 25, a *στάσις* of forty years' standing is mentioned as existing between the Alcmeonidae and Peisistratus and his sons. Forty is, of course, a round number, but if we date back forty years from the final expulsion of the Peisistratidae (511-510 B. C.), we reach c. 550 for the final and irreconcilable breach between Megacles and Peisistratus, i. e. for the beginning of the second exile. Hence the second *τυραννίς*, which began c. 549 B. C. and was ended through the hostility of Megacles, must have been a brief one (Clinton, Busolt, Bauer), and not a long one (Poland, Kenyon, Reinach).

(12) The 'obelus' on col. 7, line 15, opposite *καὶ ὑβριστής*, appears to indicate a corruption in the text, perhaps the omission of some words that, if retained,



would have removed the contradiction between the statements of Aristotle and Thucydides as to the relation of Thessalus and Hipparchus to the troubles of the Peisistratidae. At all events, we are not obliged to accept Aristotle's text as perfectly sound on this point.

(13) Blass's and Hude's reading at c. 19, §4 *ὅτι εὐπόρησαν χρημάτων <ἀποβλέποντες>* is much to be preferred to *ὄθεν*. But *ἀποβλέποντες*, though provided for by the break, is not absolutely necessary for the same sense. The new reading makes the text conform to that of Herodotus, on which the context is based; it renders otiose Dr. Sandys's learned note on the passage.

(14) In c. 22, §8, read *ὥρισαν τοῖς ὑστρακιζομένοις μὴ ἐντὸς Γεραιστοῦ κτλ.* This gives the same sense as *ἐκτός*, is closer to the traditional text, and is in keeping with the quotation in Philochorus ap. Lex. Cantab. The hiatus after *μή* is not objectionable in a legal phrase; cf. c. 42, 8.

(15) At c. 24, §2, 1, in cancelling *τε*, the editor has removed an interesting anacoluthon, of which the papyrus gives several examples. Cf. c. 48, §4.

(16) In c. 43, §3, the retention of *καὶ ὃ τι* is more Aristotelian than the omission of it: *ὅσα*, at the beginning of the sentence, is not coincident in meaning with it: the warrant issued by the prytans shall cover the amount of matters to be taken up, the details for each day, and the time of the meeting.

(17) At c. 49, §3, Dr. Sandys takes *παραδείγματα* in the sense of 'architects' plans,' and does not note Diels's suggestion that the word means 'designs for the peplos' (Jahrb. d. deutschen Inst. 1891; Arch. Anz., p. 39). The context certainly favors the latter explanation, and it may be remarked that at c. 60, §1, we are told distinctly that it was in conference with the *βουλή* that the *ἀθλοθέται* τὸν πέπλον ποιοῦνται καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορεῖς ποιοῦνται. The designs both for the peplos and for the prize amphorae were originally to be proposed by the *Athlothetae* to the senate and executed with the consent of the latter body: at a later time, since jobbery had corrupted the decisions about the peplos, this matter was committed to a dicastery.

(18) Page 196, note: "In the fourth century, down to B. C. 322, we have 38 names, not one of them famous" (referring to *γραμματεῖς* of the senate). Certainly Aeschines might be regarded as one of the 'famous,' and there is little doubt that he was at one time secretary of the senate. Aristotle's language, however, applies the adjectives *ἐνδοξότατοι καὶ πιστότατοι* to men holding office in the period before c. 365 B. C.

(19) Attention might be called to the fact (c. 56, §3) that it was immediately on entering office that the archon selected the three choregi for the tragic contest. The Athenians wisely provided for a long period—midsummer to the following spring—in which actors and chorus might receive thorough training.

(20) At c. 57, §3, Dr. Sandys declares for *δικάζουσι δ' οἱ λαχόντες ταῦτα ἐφέται*. That such must have been the case in the earlier times 'cannot be denied, but there are grave difficulties in the way of those who maintain the continued existence and judicial activity of both the *ἐφέται* and the *φιλοβασιλεῖς* down to the close of the fourth century B. C. The whole subject of the interpretation of the so-called Amnesty Law of Solon (Plut. Sol. 19; cf. Andoc. Myst. 78), and the courts there mentioned, has by no means been fully cleared up.

(21) But for Dr. Sandys's suggestion (c. 57, §4) of *δικάζουσι* [ν ἐν ἡλί]αι[α] καὶ *ἐπαίθριον* nothing except words of praise can be said. This restoration reconciles the language of Isocrates c. Callim. 52, 54, etc., with that of the tradition. The word *ἡλιαία* has here a double connotation, 'in the sunlight,' and, less directly, that of a heliastic court in general.

(22) It is hardly accurate to say that "many Panathenaic amphorae are found in . . . Greece" (on c. 59, §1). Is it not a fact that fewer are found there than elsewhere in the Hellenic world?

(23) From c. 60, §3, the inference may be drawn that the archon did not become a member of the Areopagus until after the expiration of his term of office. Perhaps this fact throws some light on the theory of Lange—now, however, for other reasons, hardly tenable—whereby the fifty-one ephetae and nine archons together made up the ancient court.

(24) The following misprints, or other minor faults, have caught my eye: P. xxxii, for 'nine' archons read 'ten.' P. 61. 17 read *ἐφώνησεν* in adn. cr. P. 65. 39, and elsewhere, *πρῶτος* is irregularly spelled. P. 79. 11, why not *συνέπιπτεν* without the [ ]? P. 86. 19, adn. cr., read 39 (not 35). P. 150. 4 (col. 21. 7), the spelling *ΕΝΤΡΑΦΟΝΤΑΙ* is certainly worth citing alongside of the *ἐμ Πειραιῶ* of Demosthenes (Σ). P. lx, and often, 'Alcemeonidae' is the better spelling: the editor always corrects the traditional Munychion to Munichion. Mytilene is inconsistently spelled.

But all these criticisms and corrections, and others that might be suggested, are of very slight consequence when one considers the vast body of unimpeachably sound doctrine in the book. In his effort, to use the happy line of George Herbert quoted by him,

"to copie fair what Time hath blurr'd"

—after all one of the chief duties of the classical scholar—Dr. Sandys has been signally successful. It will be many years before his book can be superseded, and then only because advancing knowledge gives us new points of vision and appreciation, and throws all our old lore into a new perspective.

J. H. WRIGHT.

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Der Vokalismus der oskischen Sprache, von CARL DARLING BUCK. Leipzig, K. F. Koehler's Antiquarium, 1892. xv + 219 pp.

Within the past two years the interest in the dialects of the Italic peninsula has been greatly stimulated by the appearance of several important works. Pauli, in the third volume of the *Alt-italische Forschungen*, has gathered together the inscriptions of the Veneti. More recently Krall, by the publication of the long inscription found in the wrappings of a mummy belonging to the Agram Museum, has furnished new material for the solution of the Etruscan problem. A Swiss scholar, Robert von Planta, has undertaken a grammar of the Oscan-Umbrian dialects, of which the first volume, treating the Lautlehre, in 600 pages, has appeared, while the second, which is to include also the entire body of inscriptions, is promised within a year. The same scholar, in *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, II, pp. 435-41, has recently published 'Eine dritte oskische Bleitafel,' which is only a fragment. More

special treatises, both by pupils of Brugmann and both written in competition for a prize offered by the University of Leipzig in October, 1890, are 'Die oskischen *i* und *e* Vocale,' by Gotthelf Bronisch (Leipzig, 1892), and the work whose title is given above. The work of Buck failed to receive the prize for purely formal reasons, although considered by the Faculty as on the whole the better of the two.

One has only to compare these works with Bruppacher's *Versuch einer Lautlehre der oskischen Sprache* (Zurich, 1869), to see the justification of the prize, and the progress made in scientific treatment. It is not our purpose here to compare the two in detail, or to point out their different conclusions where the same questions are involved. The work of Buck is the more comprehensive, as it treats all the vowels and diphthongs, and contains more that is of interest to the student of Latin. A firm grasp of phonetic principles is shown, and a wide acquaintance with the recent literature, while the author maintains with spirit his independent views, and does not hesitate to take issue with older scholars. In the preface the importance of the comparative method is insisted upon, and a sharp rap administered to Blass in passing. The orthography of the Oscan inscriptions is shown to be more precise than that of the Umbrian, and more to be relied upon for determining differences of sound-quality, although vacillating in respect to quantity. In the introduction general questions are treated, as to the extent of the Oscan linguistic territory, the age of the monuments, the varieties of writing, the absence of a sign for *o* in the original Oscan-Umbrian alphabet, the primitive character of the Oscan vocalism, especially in the conservation of diphthongs. Finally a list of words borrowed from the Greek and Latin is given, in which we miss *turris* (*tiurris*); cf. Saalfeld's *Tensaurus*.

The treatment then proceeds in seven chapters, the first being devoted to the Indogermanic *a*-vowels, including *z*, the second to the *e* and *i*-sounds, the third to *u*, the fourth to *o*, the fifth to sonant nasals and liquids, the sixth to the diphthongs *ai* (*āi*), *ei* (*ēi*), *oi* (*ōi*), *au*, *eu*, *ou*, the seventh to sound-changes in combination, as assimilation, contraction and elision, lengthening and shortening, anaptyxis, syncope and apocope. The results of the investigation are then summed up, with a determination of the value of each sound. Complete indices of the words of various dialects, and of the Latin words cited for comparison and illustration, greatly facilitate the use of the book. On p. 16 the *ll* of *mallom* is rightly regarded as without etymological significance, and Breal's derivation from *\*malvas* rejected; but attention should be called to the fact that such doubling of consonants is common in Oscan (see Planta, p. 537); another instance of *ll* is *Hellevis*. On p. 19 the form *Patanaī* is made to disprove Brugmann's earlier hypothesis explaining the gerundive ending *-ndo* from *-tno*. This hypothesis Brugmann now discards (*Grundriss*, II, p. 1425) in favor of a derivation from infinitive + prep. *do* = *to*. The alleged dropping of *r* before *n* in *Falenia* receives weak support from *pestlum*. Compare *Fensernu*, *Freternum*, and other words where *r* before *n* is regularly retained. Buecheler's skepticism seems therefore warranted. On p. 29 we are glad to see Stolz's derivation of *quom, tum* from *\*quo-sme*, *\*to-sme* rejected as impossible. On p. 26, under the representatives of Indog. *ā*, *cāro*, *cārnīs* is given. The same mistake in quantity is made in the index. On p. 35 we have the inter-

esting suggestion that in the ending *-āsio*, *ās* may be originally a gen. case-ending to which was added the suffix *-iō*. That another form, *Flozasio*, from *Flozas* (*z* for *s* by sentence-Sandhi), should have coexisted seems highly improbable. On p. 37 *kahad* in the lead tablet defixio is considered, despite Buecheler, as a subjunctive, and this seems not unlikely. The history of the *a*-sound is comparatively simple, the *a* being preserved even in unaccented syllables, where in Latin it would suffer weakening. Final *ā*, however, does suffer a change, *viā* being represented by *viū*, *viu*. In the Latin alphabet both *u* and *o* are used, and in Greek *o*, so that Buck thinks the sound really intended was like the *a* in *call*. On p. 50 Oscan *pomtis*, 'quinquies,' and Umb. *nuvis*, *noviens*, are regarded as analogical formations, after *\*dy-is* and *\*tri-s*, thus avoiding the difficulty of connecting the ending *is* with the Latin *-ies*, *-iens*. The same explanation is given by Bronisch, p. 132, for *pomtis*, and with less certainty for *nuvis*. The discussion of the reasons for the invention of a new sign, *† = i*, is most interesting. In Latin Indog. *i* had a closer pronunciation than Indog. *i*. This was probably true in Oscan, and so, for the sake of differentiation, the new character was devised to represent Indog. *i* and the *i*-sounds developed from Indogerm. *e*. Hence the Indog. *i* is regularly represented by *i* or *ii*. One finds it hard to believe, however, that *ist = est*, inasmuch as we have *est* also in Oscan (Rhein. Mus. 44, 320), and the support adduced both by Buck and Bronisch from *ēs* of the comic poets falls away, if we adopt the explanation of Skutsch, *Forschungen*, p. 60, that *ēs*, not *ēs*, was spoken before vowels and *ēs* before consonants in the time of Plautus.

A long discussion is given of the representation of *u* after dentals by *iu*, as in *ultiumam*, which, it is claimed, does not stand for *u*, but no conclusion is reached as to the real nature of the affection. A fair parallel seems to be afforded by the precise pronunciation of *nature* (*natur*) and *verdure* (*verdjur*). Planta, on the other hand, p. 126, comes to the conclusion that it does represent *u*. On p. 117 Buck proves Stolz to be in error in deriving *homo* from *hemo* by assimilation, it being rather a case of original ablaut. On p. 118 two ingenious explanations are offered for the *o* in *pomptis* over against the *i* of *quinquies*. The latter, of which a parallel is found in *coquo* from *\*pekūō*, seems to us the more plausible. For the ending of the gen. pl. *ōm* is accepted, not *dm*, with Osthoff, and it is proved that *ō* had a much closer sound than *o*, and nearer *u*, by which it is regularly represented in the Tabula Bantina. We must assume also that in primitive Italic *ō* and *o*, like *ē* and *e*, differed in quality as well as in quantity, a fact which the writers of school-grammars would do well to bear in mind.

Chapters VI and VII, which space forbids our noticing, contain many points of interest to the Latinist. In fact, it is high time that the Latinist should awake to the fact that he has much to learn from Oscan and Umbrian, and that he cannot be absolved any more than a Greek scholar from the study of dialects. It is to be hoped that this book, written by an American, and a positive contribution to science, will be studied by Americans. There are quite a number of misprints, some of which are corrected at the end. Not among these are 'ludi Attelani' and 'mnoophthongischen,' on pp. 158 and 159.

MINTON WARREN.



*Œuvres de Cicéron. Brutus. Texte latin, publié d'après les travaux les plus récents, avec un commentaire critique et explicatif, une introduction et un index, par JULES MARTHA. Paris, Hachette, 1892. xlvii + 261 pp.*

This edition, inviting to the eye with its broad margins and clear print, is one which it will not simply be a pleasure for the student of the *Brutus* to possess, but a necessity. The materials amassed by previous scholars have been carefully examined, conflicting views tested with independent judgment, the difficulties of the text seriously considered, while here and there an emendation has been offered, but not rashly. The introduction deals, in a charming style, with the date of the *Brutus* and the circumstances leading to its composition, with its relation to the *De Oratore*, preceding it by eight years, and the *Orator* following it, with its historic worth and its sources, with the character of its criticism, and with the somewhat involved question of the MSS and their relative value. The editor justly remarks that while the same spirit animates the *De Oratore* and the *Brutus*, the latter contains vague intimations of a menaced attack. Cicero's supremacy in oratory has been questioned by the school of Calvus, and he feels called upon to defend himself against the charge of non-Atticism. The review of Roman orators, with their merits and defects, gives him the opportunity of doing this, but not avowedly. The criticism passed upon the early orators, including even Cato, is essentially literary criticism. They are not flesh and blood orators, with vigorous personal peculiarities of voice and gesture. Indeed, in chapters XV-XXXV only Laelius, Galba and Carbo are vividly portrayed, and this because Cicero must have talked with persons who knew them. For the later period his personal reminiscences were sufficient. For the earlier, while the *Liber Annalis* of Atticus furnished a prop to his chronology, the *Annals* of Ennius, the *Origines* of Cato, the *Didascalica* of Accius, Lucilius and other sources were ready to his hand. Jordan's hypothesis that Valerius Antias was the source of chapter XIV, Martha does not admit. That his friend Varro, with his enormous erudition, may have come to his aid occasionally is not disputed. The critical attitude of Cicero is on the whole fair, not affected, at least, by political bias. He does not hesitate to praise the Gracchi nor Carbo, but where his own pre-eminence is at stake, in the case of the Atticists, he fails to do full justice. Of the impassioned vehemence of Calvus he says nothing. We need not be surprised if the criticism is too uniformly technical, too much concerned with the question as to whether the three conditions of eloquence are present—natural talent, knowledge and practice—or whether the requirements under the five heads *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, *actio* have been satisfied. We must not complain if a carpenter uses a rule and not a microscope.

In the treatment of the MSS Martha agrees in the main with Stangl, and uses not only F, O and G, but also B, H and M, for the reconstruction of the lost *Laudensis*. He differs, however, from Stangl in regarding F, which is the codex of greatest authority, as a direct copy of the *Laudensis*. To B, H and M he assigns much less authority than to the first three. It is to be regretted that he leaves unnoticed *Parisinus* 7704, upon which Orelli set a high value, and of which he might easily have made a new collation. In the constitution of the text he is very conservative, offering some forty conjectures. The notes are helpful and judicious, on the historical-biographical as well as on the

grammatical-rhetorical side. At the end is a table of proper names, and an Index of Latinity, with especial reference to rhetorical terms.

In §39 *videsne igitur ut, ut*, which Heusinger changed to *vel*, is ingeniously filled out to *Brute*, which is used with *vides igitur* in §231; but here also *ut* follows *igitur* immediately, so that it excites a doubt as to whether the *ut* in §39 is a remnant of *Brute*. In §55 *Ti. Coruncanium* is correctly given in the text, but *T. Coruncanium* in the notes. In §71 *sicin* is bracketed as the exclamation of some archaist surprised at this criticism of Cicero upon Livius Andronicus: "Bah! est-ce bien juste?"—an amusing but hardly tenable suggestion. Possibly *sicin* is due to *sic enim* of the line above, but most editors read *sic*. In §81 *Numerius* is an excellent emendation of *nua serius F, una ser BHM*. In §86 *asperior*, Moser's conjecture, seems too far from the MS *adhortor* to meet with general approval, even though elsewhere *asperitas* is made a characteristic of Galba, *actuosior* of Baiter and Kayser, read by Stangl, is much nearer to the MSS, and *ardentior*, the common reading, is supported by §276 and by *ardor* in §93. In §131 *Saufeio* is a beautiful conjecture for the unintelligible *savelio*, and likely to keep its place in the text. In §191 Martha reads *Plato enim mihi instar est centum milium*, adopting *centum milium* as the conjecture of Orelli, although Baiter and Kayser, and Stangl, attribute it to Camerarius. Is it not worth while to call attention to the possibility that *me. illum* of the MSS may be simply a misreading of the spelling MEILIVM, I being read L, as so often? Compare MEILIA, Corp. I 551, 4 and 8, and Lucilius, bk. IX, XIV, Mueller, *meile hominum, duo meilia*, etc. On the use of *ei* in Cicero for *i* see Buechler, Rhein. Museum, XI 515. While *centum* is admirably supported by ad Att. II 5. 1, I do not feel certain that *omnium* is wrong. Compare De Off. 3, 3. 11 *ut omnia ex altera parte collocata vix minimi momenti instar habeant*. Wölfflin, Arch. II 584, in his article on *instar*, seems to accept *omnium* without *milium*, interpreting 'er zähle, gelte so viel als alle miteinander.' *Milium*, however, or *meilium*, must certainly be retained.

MINTON WARREN.

The Five Zoroastrian GĀTHĀS, with the Zend, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Persian Texts and Translations, by L. H. MILLS, D. D., Hon. M. A. Oxon. Parts I and 4. Leipsic, 1892.—A study of the five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthās, with texts and translations, also with the Pahlavi translation, for the first time edited with collation of manuscripts, and now prepared from all the known codices; also deciphered, and for the first time translated in its entirety into a European language, with Neryosangh's Sanskrit text edited with the collation of five MSS, and with a first translation; also with the Persian text contained in Codex 126 of the Munich Collection edited in transliteration, together with a commentary, being the literary apparatus and argument to the translation of the Gāthās in the XXXth volume of the Sacred Books of the East, by L. H. MILLS, D. D., Hon. M. A. Oxon. Part I. Yasna XXVIII–XXXIV; Part IV. Commentary. Oxford, 1892.

The Rev. Lawrence H. Mills, D. D., a presbyter of the American Church, and distinguished Oriental scholar, has devoted himself for twenty years to the study of the sacred books of the Parsees, and more particularly to the

study of the Gâthâs, which are the most important part of the Avesta and at the same time by far the most difficult of interpretation. Not only is the idiom in which these hymns are composed of the greatest importance, but the main principles of the ancient Zoroastrian religion are nowhere else in the Avesta so prominent. During a stay of eight years in Germany Dr. Mills spared no endeavors in collecting all accessible materials for a translation of the Gâthâs, and, not satisfied with studying the original Zend text, he likewise made himself acquainted with the Pahlavi and Parsi translations. In 1887 appeared, as vol. XXXI of the *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller, his translation of the Yasna, Visparad, Âfrinagân, Gâhs, and miscellaneous fragments (see my review in *A. J. P.* X 91-94). A new result of Dr. Mills's enlarged studies is the present work, which was published at the close of last year, eagerly expected by all Zendists, and particularly warmly welcomed by the writer of this article. Part I, pp. 1-153, contains the translation of Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV, and gives (1) the Zend text in the original character, with transliteration and with two renderings—the one literal in simple Latin, after the example of Haug; the other, more free and metrical, in English, exact reproduction of metre and words not being attempted; (2) the Pahlavi text transliterated, with various readings and with an English translation; (3) the Sanskrit translation of Neriosengh transliterated, with various readings and with an English translation; (4) the Parsi-Persian translation of the Pahlavi text. As to the designation of the Zend manuscripts, Mills has adopted Geldner's designations, but two MSS were consulted by him which Geldner had not yet compared: Pt. 4 and F\* (cf. *Supplementary Introd.*, p. viii). Three fine facsimiles from the codices F<sup>2</sup> Y. XXIX, 4, 5, F<sup>3</sup> Y. XXX, 9, 10, D. Y. XXX, 2, 3, 4 are a welcome addition to the well-composed and in every respect carefully executed first part of the work.

Part IV, pp. 393-621, contains the commentary to the translation of Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV, in which, as a matter of course, we find continual reference to the translation and interpretations in vol. XXXI of the *Sacred Books of the East*. Both works are closely connected, and both works ought to be studied by those who desire information as to Dr. Mills's province of labor, his method, and the results of his researches. In the preface, and more particularly in the supplementary introduction to his recent work, Dr. Mills explains his mode of proceeding, but for the sake of succinctness refers the reader to the compendious introduction to vol. XXXI of the *S. B. of the East*, where, besides a very instructive summary of the contents of the Gâthâs, researches are made into their authorship, into the relation of the author's religious system to that of the cuneiform inscriptions, and into the age of the Gâthâs. To the same introduction we must go in order to ascertain Mills's attitude towards the Parsi and Pahlavi translations, and his views of metrical questions, of conjectural criticism, and of the relation of Veda to Avesta. In the commentary likewise there is constant reference to the introductory summaries and additional notes of the earlier translation. As to the translation of texts, the author was induced by the study of so many years, not only to consider conscientiously every possible translation, but likewise to examine carefully the interpretations attempted by other scholars, before writing down his own, and for the same reason, while Dr. Mills has not wantonly varied

from his former renderings, still, as the considerable interval of five years lies between the publication of vol. XXXI of the *S. B. of the East* and the present edition, he has occasionally changed his former translation, and has even endeavored to improve on different parts of the same book. "The commentary," he says, p. xxv, "was printed while the texts were in manuscript, and in printing the texts later I have suggested improvements up to the last, and I will continue to do so." Although the author, notwithstanding many certain results of his researches, will not and cannot pretend to have succeeded in every point, he may nevertheless justly claim, on account of his cautious and extensive investigations, to have his translation and commentary studied and conscientiously examined by his fellow-interpreters, as every discovered error will facilitate the discovery of truth.

The commentary in Part IV, which comprises the entirety of the *Gâthâs*, while the text in Part I contains only *Yasna XXVIII-XXXIV*, bears evidence of the author's enlarged studies, of his philological erudition which equally takes into account grammar, etymology and metric, and of his acute treatment of linguistic matters. The undersigned, who, during the author's stay at Leipsic a few years ago, was in correspondence with him about several passages of the *Gâthâs*, was convinced even then that Dr. Mills was likely to go about his difficult task with zeal, but at the same time with circumspection. The present commentary confirms this opinion. Dr. Mills tries to do justice to each of the two diverging schools of Avesta-interpreters, to the Eranists as well as to the Vedists, but the undersigned believes that Dr. Mills rather joins with him in accepting the conclusion of the late Paul de Lagarde: "If the words are Vedic, the sense, the ideas are Eranian." In the words of James Darmesteter in the preface of his recent translation of the *Zend-Avesta* into French (Paris, 1892, vol. I, p. xxxi): "Ce qui fait le caractère du Parsisme, c'est la précision absolue des dogmes, l'abondance des termes techniques, la sûreté de la nomenclature: or le sens précis que tel mot commun a pris dans le système, nulle considération de grammaire comparée ne peut le déterminer; les textes seuls et la tradition peuvent nous l'apprendre." These words of Lagarde and Darmesteter define the task which Dr. Mills has honestly endeavored to perform, i. e. to interpret the Avesta from the Avesta, with a constant reference to the kindred Eranian dialects and to indigenous tradition.

We part from the valuable and important book, which gives to every interpreter of the Avesta the materials in so apt and perspicuous an arrangement, with the expression of sincerest thanks to the author, and with the wish that Parts II and III may soon follow.

JENA, February, 1893.

EUGEN WILHELM.

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De *ōste* particulae usu Herodoteo, Thucydideo, Xenophonteo. Scripsit MAX WEHMANN. Argentorati, MDCCCLXXXI.

Wehmann's treatise on the use of *ōste* in Herodotos, Thukydidēs and Xenophon has done nothing to clear up the theory of the troublesome particle, to which I devoted a special study in *A. J. P.* VII (not VI, as Professor Goodwin has it) 161-75, with results which have been taken up into the new *Moods and Tenses*. Still the detailed statements of the usage may be of



service. That the construction is essentially post-Homeric, that the original form was the infinitive, that the finite form is an outgrowth from the inf., is no news. Pindar, as Wehmann might have noticed, has no *ὥστε* with the ind. and uses it very seldom with the inf. (see A. J. P. VII 167; Pindar, I. E. cviii). Aischylos does not use the finite form any more than his contemporary, Pindar, uses it, but in Sophokles the finite forms come forward freely, and according to Wehmann's tables Sophokles has 32 finite verbs to 53 inf., whereas Euripides has a much smaller proportion, 22 fin. verbs to 113 inf. Herodotos makes an advance on Sophokles, 57 f. v. to 75 inf.; Thukydides retrogrades, 82 f. v. to 144 inf., but not so much as Euripides, whose syntax, like his vocabulary, is not free from caprice; while Xenophon's laxness in the use of *ὥστε*, 319 f. v. to 280 inf., contributes not a little to the easy-going character of his style. This easy-going character is further enhanced by Xenophon's neglect of the correlative, which is necessary to keep *ὥστε* with f. v. from detachment. Wehmann's lists show how very seldom Xenophon employs the binding correlative, how often the consecutive clause becomes detached or semi-detached, according to the good pleasure of editors. Thus *ὥστε* with f. v., like the postscript *τε*, the afterthought *τε*, becomes an element of *neglegentia*, whether *grata neglegentia* or not; and it may be of interest to note here that, according to Dr. Miller's preliminary count, based on Caravella's Index, Aristophanes seems far to outdo Xenophon in the use of *ὥστε* with the finite verb, exhibiting as he does about 74 finite verbs as against 38 infinitives. To this I would add that, like Xenophon, Aristophanes makes very little use of the correlative, and when he does he seems to pull a rhetorical mouth, e. g. in the *ἀγών* of the Birds 488, 508; in set addresses, Eq. 681, Pax 610, and in a formal promise, Ach. 149. Clearly, then, it is safe to speak of stylistic effect within the range of *ὥστε*. *ὥστε* occupies a peculiar position among the correlative sentences—nay, among the dependent sentences. The protasis of the conditional sentence may follow. There is nothing strange in that. The final clause may precede. That liberty comes in with the dramatic poets. We may say *ὅς—οὗτος* as well as *οὗτος—ὅς*, *ὅσον—τοσοῦτον* as well as *τοσοῦτον—ὅσον*, but *ὥστε* must always follow, must always be what its name implies—consecutive, and when the correlative is expressed there can be no surprises, no *bouleversements*. It is therefore necessarily reflective, necessarily sedate. It is perforce excluded from the sphere of liveliness, of *γοργότης*. Of course, a certain deliberateness, a certain *περιβολή*, attaches to any wedded pair of correlatives, but if the relative precedes the demonstrative, there is room for an interjectional effect. Not so with *οὕτως—ὥστε*, not so with *τοσοῦτον—ὥστε*. This effect of the correlative in general and of *ὥστε* in particular was distinctly recognized by the ancient rhetoricians, and it may be of interest here to cite the passages:

In his chapter on *περιβολή* (see A. J. P. IX 143) Aristeides says (II 479 Sp.): τὸ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν σχῆμα μάλιστα περιβολὴν ἐργάζεται καὶ θαν τις ὑποστάσει χρηταί. ὅ τι δὲ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ αἱ ὑποστάσεις καὶ ὅσον δύνανται, ἐπὶ παραδειγμάτων γνώσῃ, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κόνωνος εἰθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑβρισθεὶς, ὧ ἀνδρες δικασταί, καὶ παθὼν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τοῦτου γε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπλοῖν ἦν οὕτως εἰπεῖν, πολλὰ καὶ δεῖνὰ ἢ καὶ διάφορα πράγματα ὧν οὐδὲν γέγονε δεινότερον, ὃ δὲ διὰ τῆς ὑποστάσεως περιβολὴν εἰργάσατο τοιαῦτα ὥσπε πολλὸν χρόνον πάνν

μήτε τοὺς οἰκείους μήτε τῶν ἱατρῶν μηδένα προσδοκᾶν περιφεν-  
 ξεῖσθαι με. It is of the same passage that Hermogenes says *περὶ ἰδεῶν*, I, 3  
 (II 276 Sp.): τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ ρηθέντα περιβολὴν ἐποίησε λελη-  
 θυῖαν. And again (II 325 Sp.): ἐφέλκονται νοήματα καὶ αἱ ὑποστάσεις οἷον  
 ἐξήλεγξα τὸν Φίλιππον φανερώς οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς ἐκείνου συμμάχους  
 αὐτοὺς ἀνισταμένους ὁμολογεῖν (D. 18, 136). But what is *ὑπόστασις*? Not  
 simply a subordinate sentence, as it has been defined. It is something more.  
 As *ὑπόθεσις* is a supposition, so *ὑπόστασις* is a substantiation. It gives the details,  
 and as we read in *ἐκ τῶν Λογγίνου* (I 327 Sp.): *ὑπόστασιν* καλοῦσιν τὸ ἐμφασιν  
 ἔχον καὶ πάθους τινὸς ἐνδεικτικόν, καθάπερ τὸ Δημοσθενικὸν οὕτως ὠργίσθη καὶ  
 παρωξύνθη καὶ ἄλλως ὅσῳ πλείοσιν οὕτος ἠνώχληκεν. The former of  
 the two sentences cited is a *ὥστε* sentence (D. 21, 2), but the second is a  
 correlative (D. 21, 4), and doubtless *ὑπόστασις* might be used of any correlative  
 clause that gives substantiating details, but it is interesting to know that this  
 function is so appropriate to the *ὥστε* clause that later rhetoricians actually  
 defined *ὑπόστασις* as *λόγον αὐξήσεις καὶ ἐρμηνεία κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον κόμμα ἢ κῶλον*,  
*Anonymi. περὶ σχημάτων*, III 128 Sp., the only examples cited being *ὥστε* clauses.  
 To be sure, Spengel (*Praefatio*, ix) makes some unlovely remarks about this  
*Anonymus*, whose subscription shows him to be a late scribbler; but who can  
 refrain from citing even a late scribbler when his testimony comes in so pat?  
 At all events, the consequentiality, as one might render the *περιβολή*, of the  
 consecutive sentence is a point not to be overlooked in future treatises on  
*ὥστε*, and the subject is one that deserves to be pursued. Unless some result  
 is gained from the mass of statistics and from the details of descriptive syntax,  
 fewer and fewer scholars will have the heart to keep up the laborious quest.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

## REPORTS.

ROMANIA, Vol. XIX (1890).

Janvier.

P. Meyer. Des rapports de la poésie des troubadours avec celle des trouvères. Article of 42 pages, growing out of material collected for a course of lectures on the versification of the Romance languages, delivered at the Collège de France. The author's purpose is rather to point the way to profitable lines of investigation than to exhaust any portion of the subject. He takes into consideration—(1) les témoignages qui nous montrent la poésie du Midi portée dans les pays du Nord; (2) les rapports d'idée; (3) les rapports de forme; (4) les dénominations techniques qui ont pu passer de l'usage provençal à l'usage français; la poésie lyrique française dans le Midi de la France. "La conclusion qui se dégage des menus faits groupés dans les pages précédentes est que la poésie lyrique du Midi et celle du Nord se sont trouvées en contact et ont exercé l'une sur l'autre une influence appréciable, l'action de la première se manifestant à une époque plus ancienne et avec une puissance bien autrement grande que celle de la seconde. C'est l'inverse de ce que nous observons pour la poésie narrative. Peut-on aller plus loin et supposer que la poésie amoureuse des trouvères a été conçue dès l'origine à l'imitation de celle des troubadours? Pour ma part, je ne serais pas éloigné de l'admettre en une certaine mesure, pourvu que l'on concède aux trouvères une assez grande part d'originalité. . . . Mais l'influence d'une littérature sur une autre ne se manifeste pas uniquement par l'emprunt de formes poétiques ou de certaines idées destinées bientôt à devenir lieux communs. Elle s'exerce d'une façon plus large et plus haute en excitant les esprits et en faisant naître le sentiment de l'émulation. Si on se place à ce point de vue, on reconnaîtra que l'influence de la poésie des troubadours sur celle des trouvères s'étend bien au-delà des rapports matériels que l'on pourra jamais constater." The author adds an appendix of 20 pages on the 'Souhais' of Pistoleta, in which are elaborately traced the various redactions and imitations of the Provençal chanson offering the most characteristic example of direct influence exercised by the South upon the North.

G. Paris. Henri de Valenciennes. The prose history of the Emperor Henry of Constantinople (1206-18), by Henri de Valenciennes, is found appended to several of the MSS of Villehardouin's Conquest of Constantinople, the events recorded following closely upon those narrated in the latter work. M. Paris here resumes what has been heretofore written upon Henri de Valenciennes, throwing new light upon the author's personality and the primitive form of his narrative. The conjectured identity of the biographer with his hero is summarily rejected, and the probability pointed out of his being the same person as one Henri de Wallentines, otherwise unknown

(Valenciennes is often written Valentines in contemporary documents), who announces himself as the author of a poem in Alexandrine quatrains written in honor of the Virgin. Such a conclusion would be in accordance with strong indications, in the style and structure of the history, that this work was originally composed in the poetical form of a *chanson de geste*. That it should have been done into prose and abridged in order to form a pendant to the history of Villehardouin, is to be regretted, since much has been sacrificed in the process.

M. Wilmotte. *Etudes de dialectologie wallonne*. III. La région namuroise (*fin*; cf. A. J. P. X 121, XII 242). M. Wilmotte concludes his valuable presentation of Walloon dialect peculiarities, accompanied by "pièces justificatives."

Mélanges. I. G. Paris. Philippe de Novare. This nobleman and author († about 1265), one of the seigneurs of Cyprus, writer of charming *Mémoires* which occupy a place apart in French historiography, and compiler of part of the *Assises de Jérusalem*, has heretofore been known in all modern texts and in various ancient ones as Philippe de Navarre. M. Paris shows that he was really from Novara in Lombardy, whence his name. It is incidentally pointed out that an allusion by Philippe to *Jehan Boute Dieu* is the earliest mention of the Wandering Jew thus far signalized in literature (the next oldest occurring in Italy under date of 1267).—II. P. Meyer. *Rotruenge en quatrains*. Eight quatrains of the 13th century published from a MS of the British Museum, followed by a short Latin poem of somewhat similar structure.—III. G. Paris. *L'auteur du Comte d'Anjou*. The author of the *Comte d'Anjou*, who wrote in 1316, concealed his name in an enigma which, owing to corruption of the text, had not been correctly deciphered until the discovery of a better manuscript enabled M. Paris to determine that the authorship belongs to one Jean Maillart. The phrase furnishing the name Maillart, "Ainz pesche au mail l'art" (pesche au mail = je pêche au maillet), raises an interesting question. M. Paris finds only one other occurrence of *pêcher au mail*. It is cited by Sainte-Palaye: "Quelquefois il se trouve je ne say quoy de bon, comme disoit la bonne femme qui peschoit atout ung mail en la mare de son fumier." Yet it must have been in frequent use, since Cotgrave defines *pescher au maillet*: "Foolishly to talke much, or make a great bruit, of a project, thereby discovering, and disappointing it." M. Paris adds: "On ne voit pas clairement par ces trois passages s'il y avait réellement un engin de pêche appelé mail ou si la locution *pêcher au mail*, *au maillet*, n'est pas purement ironique pour dire 'pêcher de façon à ne rien prendre.'" One of the printers of the *Romania*, moved by the philologist's embarrassment, sends him with the proof of the article an account (printed in a footnote) of *la pêche au maillet* as it is largely practised in the Haut-Jura. This consists in striking the transparent ice with a long-handled mallet and so stunning the fish underneath. But M. Paris states that he has searched in vain the works on fishing for any trace of such a device. In chapter I, p. 48, of Ridpath's *History of the United States* we are told that the Indians had a word meaning "to-take-fish-by-striking-the-ice," and this method is known of by hearsay to the present writer.—IV. Jan te Winkel. *Le conte des trois perroquets*. A



mediaeval Dutch version of the tale of the Three Parrots, one of which speaks in French, another in Provençal, and the third in Latin.—V. E. Picot. Note sur l'auteur du *Contreblason de faulces amours*. By deciphering correctly an acrostic appended to this poem, M. Picot rectifies several errors of his predecessors, and assigns the authorship of the poem to one Estrées, otherwise unknown. "Il y a donc lieu de rectifier La Croix du Maine et les bibliographes qui l'ont suivi, en supprimant Charles de Croy de la liste des chartreux et de la liste des poètes. Quant à notre Estrées, un hasard heureux fera peut-être rencontrer ailleurs quelque ouvrage signé de lui."

Comptes-rendus. Recueil de mémoires philologiques présenté à monsieur Gaston Paris . . . par ses élèves suédois (G. Paris). A minutely detailed review of thirteen pages, throwing new light on every point discussed. "On voit que ce beau volume ne constitue pas seulement pour celui dont le nom est placé en tête le plus précieux et le plus touchant des souvenirs, mais qu'il apporte à la science d'importantes contributions, et qu'il fait le plus grand honneur au pays lointain où la philologie romane est cultivée avec tant d'amour et de succès."—Isidoro del Lungo. Dante ne' tempi di Dante: *Ritratti e studi* (N. Zingarelli). Instructive review of a valuable collection of essays.—A. Bartoli. *Delle opere di Dante Alighieri. La Divina Commedia, parte II* (N. Zingarelli). The work here discussed constitutes volume VI, part 2, of the author's well-known *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (for part 1 cf. A. J. P. XII 240). Its most important chapter is the first, entitled 'La Politica e la Storia nella Divina Commedia,' in which are passed in review all the personages introduced into the poem, for the purpose of estimating the historical accuracy and poetic justice of their treatment at the hands of Dante.—A. Rubió y Lluch. *El Renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana*; M. Menendez y Pelayo. *Discurso leído en la Universidad Central* (A. Morel-Fatio). Two academic discourses by former pupils of Milá y Fontanals. The first treats of the translations and imitations of the ancient classic authors in the Catalan literature of the Middle Ages, the second is a study of Platonism in Spanish literature.—J. M. Guardia. *Le Songe de Bernat Metge, auteur catalan du XVe siècle* (A. Morel-Fatio). Edition, with translation, the scholarship of which is indicated by comparing the reading "E s'il *riu barber* (rhubarb) es sech o humit" with the rendering "Et si le *fleuve Berber* est sec ou humide!" Mr. Morel-Fatio's lengthy review is, from beginning to end, "on ne peut plus" spirituelle.

Chronique. M. le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, well known for his works on Modern Greece and on the French literature of the XIVth century, died on Nov. 29, 1889, aged 52 years. "Homme du monde, artiste, doué d'une instruction très étendue et d'une curiosité toujours en éveil, M. de Saint-Hilaire avait abordé avec succès des études fort diverses."—Under the title of 'Italienische Bibliothek,' Mr. J. Ulrich has undertaken to edit, for Renger of Leipsic, a series of volumes, comprising specimens of early Italian texts, and constituting thus an extensive chrestomathy, for the use of students of Romance philology. The first of the series is devoted to the *Aeltere Novellen*.—In celebration of his seventieth birthday anniversary, Konrad Hofmann, Professor of Romance Philology at Munich, received from his former pupils

the dedication of a collection of studies consisting of twenty-six scientific memoirs.—Professor A. Restori has discovered in the library of Parma two important collections of Spanish dramatic works, among them several unpublished plays by Lope de Vega.

Livres annoncés sommairement. L'Origine du français, by the abbé J. Espagnol, published at Paris in three volumes, supports the following thesis: "Le jour où l'on aura terminé le dépouillement de notre vieille langue et de nos vieux patois, l'origine grecque du français s'imposera par son évidence aux esprits les plus prévenus."—Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen von Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke: "ouvrage capitale, qui marquera une époque dans l'histoire de la philologie romane."

Avril.

Fr. Novati. I codici francesi dei Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti. By a careful study (of 40 pages) of the correspondence of the Mantuan family of Gonzaga, in the 14th century, with various Italian and foreign princes and ambassadors, the author traces, in a manner not only scholarly but entertaining, the vicissitudes of a considerable number of important French and Latin MSS belonging to the Gonzaga collection.

P. Meyer. Fragment d'*Aspremont* conservé aux archives du Puy-de-Dôme, suivi d'observations sur quelques MSS du même poème. The fragment here published is comparatively unimportant in itself, but a lengthy appendix to the article, offering an attempted reconstruction of a passage of seventy verses, from a collation of eight manuscripts, with elaborate explanations, affords a practical and valuable object-lesson in text-constitution.

A. Piaget. Oton de Granson et ses poésies. Traces, in some twenty pages, the tragic career of the French chevalier and poet, of the second half of the 14th century, whom Chaucer calls "Graunson, flour of hem that make in Fraunce." (*A suivre.*)

E. Picot. Fragments inédits de Mystères de la Passion. Gives first a list of ten complete Mystères de la Passion, including the most celebrated, *La Passion nostre seigneur Jhesucrist*, composed about 1450 by Arnoul Greban. The fragments here printed are four, interesting chiefly as marking the superiority of Greban's work. (*A suivre.*)

Mélanges. I. J. Cornu. *Ambulare*. Mr. Cornu recants his former etymology of the Romance group *andare*, *anar*, *aller*, viz. Lat. *enare*, *enatare* (Romania, XVI 560), and here supports Lat. *ambulare*. To this study the editors of the Romania append in footnote: "Nous devons faire remarquer que la Romania réserve encore son opinion sur la question de l'origine d'*andare*, etc.; mais, comme l'a fort bien dit H. Schuchardt, 'tous les efforts si variés et redoublés qui visent depuis longtemps à la solution de ce problème, même sans y arriver, sont à comparer au travail acharné des trois fils dans la vigne que leur père leur avait laissée en leur disant qu'il y avait caché un trésor.'" —II. G. Paris. *Accouter*; *fatras*. According to Prof. Tobler, *accouter* meant originally 'munir d'un coutre,' and was said only of a plow. Prof. Paris here supports satisfactorily the earlier etymology of Diez, \**accosturare* (= *ad, consu-*

*tura, -are*). *Fastras* (*fatras*) is connected with the verb *fastrer*, derived from \**farsurare* (from *farsum* for *fartum*), which furnishes a further example (the supposed lack of which Tobler had cited as an objection to Diez's etymology) of the fall of *u* in the derivative of a word in *-ura*.—III. F. Lot. Guillaume de Montreuil. Throws doubt upon the supposed identity, and even upon the existence, of the Guillaume de Montreuil, or de Ponthieu, whom Gaston Paris, in vol. I of the *Romania*, had assigned to the middle of the 10th century.—IV. G. Paris. *L'Auteur de La Complainte de Jérusalem*. Shown to be Huon de Saint-Quentin.—V. P. Meyer. *Chansons en l'honneur de la Vierge tirées du MS de l'Arsenal 3517*. Three chansons, interesting chiefly from their peculiar versification.—VI. A. Bos. *Juge*. Not, as generally held, postverbal from *jugier*, but derived from \**judicum*.—VII. A. Bos. *Marner*. "Quand on dit: 'la mer marne de deux pieds,' cela signifie qu'elle élève de deux pieds ses bords, dont la trace reste sur le rivage à marée basse. *Marner* vient régulièrement de *marginare*, qui du sens général de 'border' a passé au sens de 'border en parlant de la mer.'"—VIII. A. Bos. *Mettre au plein*. In this phrase, as in the corresponding "aller au plein," "*plein* n'est autre que l'ancien substantif masculin *plain* = *planum*, dont il ne nous est resté que le féminin *plaine* = *planam*." The expression is exclusively a marine term, 'to drive on shore,' used of a vessel cast upon the coast. In this case *plein* should accordingly be written *plain*, while, conversely, the marine word *plain*, which is derived from *plenum* = 'la pleine mer, la haute mer,' should be written *plein*.—IX. A. Delboulle and P. Meyer. *Bouquetin*. This word has heretofore been derived from the German *stainboc* (*Steinbock*) (with inversion of component parts). M. Delboulle having called attention to a much earlier occurrence of the word in French than had before been noted, M. Meyer is now tempted to refer *bouquetin* to "*boc estanc*, le bouc qui se tient solidement, qui a le pied sûr."

Comptes-rendus. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, publiés par l'Institut national de France, tome XXXIII (P. Meyer and E. Picot). Brief résumé of an account, by M. Meyer, of the French MSS known as *La Clayette*; of notices, by M. Hauréau, of Latin MSS in the National Library at Paris; and of a description, by M. E. Langlois, of the French and Provençal MSS anterior to the 16th century, preserved in the various libraries at Rome.

Henry A. Todd. *La Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne, ou les Enfants changés en cygnes*. French poem of the 12th century, published for the first time, together with an inedited prose version, from the MSS of the National and Arsenal libraries in Paris, with introduction, notes and vocabulary (Gaston Paris). M. Paris remarks: "Je profiterai de l'occasion que m'offre cette publication pour présenter très brièvement quelques résultats de recherches et de réflexions que j'ai eu l'occasion de faire sur la légende qui forme le thème du poème imprimé par le jeune professeur de Baltimore. C'est au cours de ces recherches que j'ai été frappé de l'intérêt que présentait ce poème, et que je l'ai indiqué à M. Todd." M. Paris proceeds to devote 25 pages to a most valuable study of the subject-matter and details of the edition under consideration. (For a certain number of points in regard to which the editor feels constrained to differ with M. Paris, the reader is referred to an article on

the subject in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. VI, cols. 7-13.) "Il est probable, maintenant que l'enseignement de la philologie romane s'implante aux Etats-Unis, qu'elle [cette publication] ne restera isolée, et que M. Todd et les disciples qu'il formera grossiront le bataillon des travailleurs qui, dans tous les pays, s'attachent à remettre au jour les œuvres ensevelies de notre moyen âge littéraire, devenu pour le monde moderne comme une seconde antiquité."

Novelle e poesie francesi inedite o rarissime del secolo XIV (P. Meyer). "Ce livre est un de ces ouvrages somptueux que les bibliophiles se plaisent à publier en des occasions solennelles. . . L'éditeur ne s'est pas fait connaître, mais nous croyons pouvoir révéler sans indiscretion qu'il n'est point autre que le savant et obligeant directeur des archives de Piémont, M. le baron de Saint-Pierre." It contains: la *Châtelaine du Vergier*, le *dit des Oyseaulx* et le *Conseil des Oyseaulx*.

I Capostipiti dei manoscritti della Divina Commedia. Ricerche di Carlo Täuber (C. de Lollis). The extraordinary number of the MSS of the Divine Comedy has rendered difficult their proper classification, so that the all-important question of the critical constitution of the text has, until recent years, received but scanty attention. Hitherto this branch of Dante-study has been almost exclusively limited to Witte, Mussafia and Monaci. The work under consideration is based upon a comparison of some 400 MSS, from which, by a process of successive eliminations, the author culls 17, which he regards as *capostipiti* for the constitution of a definitive text. "Je crois que ce que je viens de relever est déjà suffisant pour montrer quelle mauvaise application a été faite par M. T. d'une excellente idée."

Périodiques. In the *Zeitschrift für rom. Phil.* XIII, Ch. Bonnier has a study entitled 'Recherches sur l'antagonisme des chartes et du langage vulgaire,' which is thus characterized by P. Meyer: "La thèse de M. Bonnier est que les chartes ne représentent pas l'idiome vulgaire, qu'on ne peut par conséquent en tirer parti pour la connaissance de cet idiome. . . M. B., faisant abus d'une vue exprimée par G. Paris, veut qu'on rétablisse l'idiome ancien uniquement à l'aide des patois actuels. Mais lorsque Paris a écrit la phrase que M. B. a prise pour épigraphe: 'on ne pourra vraiment arriver à la connaissance des dialectes anciens qu'à l'aide des patois actuels,' il n'a pas prétendu exclure l'usage des documents anciens: il a voulu seulement indiquer un élément de contrôle nécessaire. . . Le langage vulgaire change de génération en génération, et on arriverait à d'étranges résultats si on admettait *a priori* l'identité de langage à diverses époques. Nous croyons donc que la thèse de M. Bonnier est radicalement fausse."—M. Paris characterizes as follows Hugo Schuchardt's 'Vermischtes,' No. 2, in the same journal: "Les profondes remarques de l'auteur ont surtout pour but d'illustrer cette double maxime, que le parfait accord du sens peut rendre très vraisemblable une étymologie peu conforme aux lois ordinaires de la phonétique, et que le désaccord du sens peut faire rejeter une étymologie phonétiquement satisfaisante. Il insiste en outre sur la thèse qu'il a souvent émise, à savoir que les mots très usités subissent des contractions et des altérations phonétiques anormales. . . Je me borne à dire, pour ma part, que je reconnais pleinement le fait pour des mots ou groupes de mots passés à l'état de formules et dans lesquels le sens n'a besoin que d'être



indiqué par une sorte de geste vocal, comme les formes de politesse, les 'intercalaires,' etc."—M. Meyer speaks of Prof. A. Gerber's article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* for December, 1889, *The Fable of the Truthful Man*, etc., as an "intéressante étude de littérature comparée. Il n'est pas exact de placer Marie de France et Eude de Cheriton 'vers 1200-1203.' C'est trop tard pour Marie et probablement trop tôt pour Eude de Cheriton."

**Chronique.** Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, most remarkable of the younger professors of Romance philology, has been called as professor extraordinarius to the University of Vienna.—The French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres has awarded a prize to Frédéric Mistral for his '*Dictionnaire provençal*.'

**Livres annoncés sommairement.** Notices, often of considerable content, of thirty-three works.

Juillet.

**F. Lot.** *Geoffroi Grisegonelle dans l'épopée.* Interesting study based upon a passage, here printed *in extenso*, of the *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*. Count Geoffroi d'Anjou, called *Grisegonelle*, who flourished in the reign of Lothair (954-86), played so important a rôle in the history of his time as to set in motion an epic current attested by his mention in a number of chansons de geste (*Chanson de Roland*, *Chanson des Saisnes*, *Aspremont*, *Renaud de Montauban*, *Fierabras*, *Gaydon*). The present study undertakes to unravel the interwoven threads of history and legend.

**A. Jeanroy.** *Sur la tençon Car vei fenir a tot dia.* "Le plus ancien spécimen conservé de la tençon."

**A. Piaget.** *Oton de Granson et ses poésies (suite et fin).* A study (46 pages) of the poetry of Granson, with copious extracts. "Oton de Granson, enfin, est au moyen-âge le premier poète de la Suisse romande: à ce titre seul, on aurait dû depuis longtemps, semble-t-il, recueillir ses œuvres et les publier."

**Mélanges.** I. G. Paris. *Andain.* Derived from Lat. *indaginem*.—II. J. Loth. *Les noms Tristan et Iseut en Gallois.* Corrects certain assertions of Golther.—III. P. Meyer. *Fragment de Méraugis.* 58 lines recovered from an old binding.

**Comptes-rendus.** Arsène Darmesteter. *Reliques scientifiques.* A collection of most of the lamented author's works, apart from those already printed in book form. "Il aura été donné à peu d'hommes de remplir aussi fructueusement une carrière, hélas! aussi courte."—H. d'Arbois de Jubainville. *Recherches sur l'origine de la propriété foncière et des noms de lieux habités en France (période celtique et période romaine)* (G. Paris). "En établissant ce rapport [entre la forme actuelle des noms de lieux cités et celle qu'ils ont eue à l'origine] avec certitude dans un très grand nombre de cas, M. d'A. de Jubainville a rendu un signalé service à l'étude de l'évolution phonétique du gallo-romain; je crois également la servir en présentant sur les résultats auxquels il est arrivé quelques observations qui ont pour but de les rendre plus précis et plus sûrs."—Frederic Spencer. *La Vie de Sainte Marguerite* (P. Meyer). "Prise dans son ensemble, cette édition témoigne d'un soin louable."—Heinrich Röttgen. *Vokalismus des alt-genuesischen* (E.-G. Parodi). Detailed critique. Diligent and methodical, but without new results.

Chronique. Henri Michelant, honorary conservator of the department of MSS at the National Library, Paris, and editor of numerous Old French texts, died May 23, 1890, aged 78 years.

Livres annoncés sommairement. John E. Matzke. *Dialectische Eigenthümlichkeiten in der Entwicklung des mouillirten / im Altfranzösischen.* "En résumé, le travail de M. M. est consciencieux, et le temps qu'on emploie à le lire n'est pas perdu."

Octobre.

S. Berger. *Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes.* A continuation (of 55 pages, with many illustrative extracts) of the author's study of *Les Bibles provençales et vaudoises* (cf. A. J. P. XII 245). The earliest attempt at a vernacular rendering of the Scriptures in South France is the well-known version of five chapters (XIII–XVII) of the Gospel of St. John, emanating from Limoges and extant in a MS of the 12th century. There is no reason to suppose that this is a fragment of a more extended translation. About a hundred years later appears, in southern Languedoc, the official New Testament translation of the Cathari, preserved in a Lyons MS. Another version, that of a Paris MS, written in the dialect of Provence, is preserved in so imperfect a text as not to furnish satisfactory critical data. Recent discoveries have brought to light two Provençal versions dating from the 14th century, as well as a curious Bible history, the 'Book of Genesis,' made up from the Apocrypha and legends, as well as from the Old Testament. In the 15th century appears a translation proper of the historical books of the Old Testament, made not upon a Latin text but from French sources. As for the Catalan versions, the 14th century was their flourishing period. Their most obvious characteristic is their lack of originality, much of the work being based on that of French and Provençal predecessors. In the history of the Catalan versions, many problems of detail remain to be elucidated.

G. Paris. *La Chanson d'Antioche et la Gran Conquista de Ultramar.* Continued from vol. XVII 513–41 (cf. A. J. P. X 121). To be concluded.

Mélanges. I. E. Muret. *Le suffixe -ise = -itia.* A note to Mussafia's article, vol. XVIII 529 (cf. A. J. P. XII 246), ingeniously explaining French *-ise* neither as coming from *-itia* (Mussafia) nor as a learned formation (G. Paris), but as representing the regular phonetic development of palatal sound  $+itja$ ; cf. *franchise* (reduction of *\*franchieise*). Later, consciousness having been lost of the necessary phonetic conditions, *-ise* was appropriated to non-palatal stems.—II. J. Loth. *A propos d'estaler.*—III. F. Lot. *Gormond et Hasting.* Cites evidence identifying the one with the other.—IV. E. Picot. *Fragments d'un lai inédit d'Arnoul Greban.*

Comptes-rendus. *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* (A. Thomas). Review supplementary to that of MM. Meyer and Picot in *Comptes-rendus* for April, above.—J. Bédier. *Le lai de l'Ombre* (G. Paris). Instructive review, with rectifications.

Périodiques.

Chronique. Adolf Ebert, Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Leipsic, founder in 1859, with Ferdinand Wolf, of the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, author of the *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, died July 1, 1890, aged 70 years.

Livres annoncés sommairement.

H. A. TODD.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK, 1891, Heft 7-9.

Fascicle 7.

59. Pp. 433-44. E. Kurtz, critical notes on 50 passages of Plutarch's *Moralia* (56-323d).

60. P. 444. M. Schneider assigns the last 3 vss. in Theocritus, XV 80-6, to Gorgo, and not to Praxinoa, as has been done hitherto, so that Praxinoa's words cease with σοφόν τοι χρῆν' ὠνθρωπος.

61. Pp. 445-8. R. von Scala collects passages from the works of Isocrates throwing light on his philosophical training, and shows that he had at least a superficial acquaintance with the leading systems. The most important passages are 15, 268; 10, 2; 10, 8. In 11 (Busiris), 38 Isoc. imitates a vs. of Xenophanes (κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεῖν), a fact which seems hitherto to have escaped notice, while Panegyricus 1 contains the same line of thought as Xenophanes, fr. 2 (Bergk), vs. 9 ff. The additional resemblance between Xenophanes, fr. 16, and Paneg. 32 (cf. 38), makes direct use of the works of the philosopher probable.

62. Pp. 449-53. P. Stengel, The Sacrifices to River Gods. This article (to the uninitiated, at all events, rather obscure) seems to have for its chief purpose the contention (directed against Roscher) that the sacrifice of the bodies of animals to the river gods by hurling them into the stream (e. g. II. Φ 130 ff.) was not an offering of food to the god, but an expiatory sacrifice (Sühnopfer), only explicable on the hypothesis that the bodies were thrown in near the mouth of the river, where they would readily be washed out to sea.

63. Pp. 453-4. R. Peppmüller argues (against the view of Jacobs) that the epigram Anth. XVI 300 refers only to the Iliad and the Odyssey, and not to the work of any cyclic poet brought under the name of Homer.

64. Pp. 455-64. L. Paul, critical discussion of passages in the Apologies of Justin Martyr. The readings defended by Paul would form a text more faithful to the MS tradition than the editions of Otto or Krüger.

(44.) Pp. 465-96. G. F. Unger continues (A. J. P. XIII 509) his discussion of the credibility of the *fasti Capitolini*. III. The insertion and omission of the *cognomina* in the lists of Diodorus. Unger questions Cichorius' assumption that Castor was the source of the lists in Diodorus, and maintains that there is absolutely no evidence that he followed a Greek authority, while there are some indications that his names were taken from a Latin source. If, then, there is no reason to assume, with Cichorius, that the original *fasti* until about 400 A. U. C. were without *cognomina*, his further contention, that two series of interpolations of *cognomina* were merged into one by Atticus, also falls.

IV. Other grounds of suspicion. Such are the early appearance of the *cognomina* Augurinus and Caecus, the doubling of *cognomina*, their appearance in plebeian families, the addition of the name of father and grandfather, the mention of *consules suffecti* for the earliest times, the presence of plebeian names in the list of consuls before 388, early Greek *cognomina*, the absence of certain consular tribunes from Diod., the intercalated consuls (between the consuls for 297 and 298) given by Diod.—all which are found inadequate to cast doubt upon the trustworthiness of the *fasti*.

65. Pp. 497-500. H. Besser reviews Hartman's *de Horatio poeta*, Leyden, 1891. The first chapter contains a laudatory but rather paradoxical estimate of Peerlkamp's critical work upon Horace, following which the author endeavors to show that Horace was in no respect a true poet, but only a skilful manipulator of metrical forms, and inferior to all his illustrious contemporaries, and especially to Propertius. In an epilogue he softens the severity of this judgment somewhat by recognizing his genius as a satirist and as a keen observer of men, and by granting a certain excellence to his patriotic odes. Besser defends Horace against these charges, and maintains that H., at all events, is more in touch with modern thought and feeling than the greatest of Greek lyric poets, Pindar.

66. P. 500. P. Loewe, in Ovid's *Amores*, I 8, 104, reads *venena natent*.

67. Pp. 501-7. W. Heraeus takes up again the phrase *haud impigre* (Liv. XXXII 16, 11 *oppidani primo haud impigre tuebantur moenia; dein fessi*, etc.) = *haud pigre*, *haud segniter*, or *impigre* alone, and seeks to confirm this interpretation by instances of similar confusion of negatives in litotes gathered from various sources, of which Shakespeare's '*doubt truth to be a liar*' is one of the most interesting.<sup>1</sup>

68. Pp. 507-8. J. Lange, critical note on Caesar, B. Civ. III 25, 1 ff. O. May, on III 44, 6.

69. Pp. 509-11. H. Draheim, *de Aviani elegis*—a metrical study. '*Investigandum est quo modo cum linguae natura versuum numeri convenient . . . [conveniunt igitur ita] ut dissensio sit in medio hexametro, consensio in primo atque extremo: nullus est versus ubi omnes ictus cum accentibus congruant.*' The detailed proof of these statements follows, and the investigation is summed up in these words: '*vidimus Aviani leges quae dicuntur ex uno tamquam fonte fluxisse: verborum enim et numerorum partim congruentia, partim differentia tota ars continetur.*'

70. P. 512. G. Goetz, on the Arguments to Lucan. The most important variations of the Escorialensis g III 6 and of the Toletanus cajon 101, 31, from the text of Baehrens, PLM. V, p. 413 f., are given.

Fascicles 8 and 9.

71. Pp. 513-28. K. Busche defends the MS readings in 7 passages of the *Hecuba* of Euripides (20, 51, 241, 367, 398, 417, 1033), offers conjectures to 12 other places, and thinks 207 and 820-3 are interpolated.

<sup>1</sup> Heraeus, following the German translation, does not recognize the second meaning of '*doubt*' = '*suspect*,' now obsolescent. See Fitzedward Hall, *Modern English*, p. 228.—B. L. G.



72. Pp. 529-55. K. Buresch, on the Pseudo-Sibylline Oracles and their latest treatment, makes a hearty recognition of the service performed by Rzach (*Oracula Sibyllina*, Vienna, 1891) in the collation of the MSS and the collection of critical material, but this recognition is only the prelude to a long list of editorial sins committed by Rzach, because of inadequate acquaintance with the Alexandrian dialect, with the language of the Septuagint, and with vulgarisms which are intelligible only in the light of modern Greek. Further, Rzach's acceptance of Volkmann's extraordinary overestimate of the  $\Omega$  class of MSS has, in Buresch's judgment, ruined the Sibylline text, and to prove this he examines the readings of the  $\Omega$  class in detail, and concludes that only in 19 places does it offer superior readings to the  $\Phi\Psi$  class, while in general it presents a text of most unparalleled corruption. Not more fortunate than in the *recensio* is Rzach in his *emendatio*, whether in the admission to the text of his own conjectures or those of others; the special point of weakness with him, as with previous critics (except Alexandre), being unfamiliarity with the underlying religious ideas and the historical background.

73. Pp. 556-7. O. Apelt, in Plato's Republic, VII 532c, reads  $\theta\epsilon\alpha$  for  $\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$  and in I 336e  $\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\iota\omicron\nu$ ,  $\acute{\omega}$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$  for MS  $\omicron\iota\nu$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\acute{\omega}$ ,  $\acute{\omega}$   $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon$ .

74. Pp. 557-60. F. Blass treats of two inscriptions published by W. Fröhner in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1891. Discussion of nom. forms without  $\varsigma$  of names in  $-\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ .

75. Pp. 561-76. B. Schmidt collects and comments on various formulae of imprecation which have the common underlying thought of averting evil from the speaker or the haunts of man and bidding it begone to places where it can do no harm, especially the sea and the mountain-tops. One of the earliest examples is Il. Z 347  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\delta\rho\omicron\varsigma$   $\eta$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\kappa\bar{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ . Similar phrases, though properly outside the sphere of more elevated language, are found even in the tragic poets (e. g. Soph. O. R. 190; Eur. Herc. 649, where see Wilamowitz), while Horace's *tristitiam et metus tradam protervis in mare Creticum portare ventis* (Carm. I 26) belongs to the same category. (For other Latin examples cf. Tibull. IV 4, 7; Catull. 33, 5; Terence, Phor. 977; Varro r. r. I 2, 27.) In modern Greek like phrases are constantly heard; e. g.  $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\iota\alpha$   $\delta\rho\eta$ ,  $\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\kappa\eta$   $\epsilon\rho\eta\mu\iota\acute{\alpha}$ ,  $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha$   $\mu\acute{\iota}\lambda\iota\alpha$ . Of the same character are phrases banishing evil to certain animals, e. g.  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  ( $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ )  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\alpha\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ , but with the same underlying thought, viz. to desert places where such animals are found, or only fit for their habitation. To this class belongs the imprecation  $\epsilon\acute{\varsigma}$   $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\alpha\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ , which has also survived in modern Greek. Discussion of various ancient interpretations of this imprecation.

76. P. 576. E. Dittrich discusses two fragments of Callimachus, and assigns them to the *Γραφεῖον*.

77. Pp. 577-88. W. Hoerschelmann, *Miscellaneous Observations*. I. The only ancient authority for the oft-repeated statement that Sappho made mention of her love for Phaon in her poems has been Palaephatus, *περὶ ἀπίστων*, ch. 49. Now it appears that  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$  is only a conjecture of Eudokia (Constantine Palaekappa), for which the MSS, without exception, give  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\mu\alpha$ —evidently corrupt, as is the whole passage. II. The vss. of The-

ognis 425-28 are found in a shorter form without the pentameters, and with the variant ἀρχήν for πάντων, from which it has been inferred that the two hexameters were extended by Theog. to their present form. But ἀρχήν adv. is not an old form, and the earliest witness to the version in 2 hex. with ἀρχήν is Alcidas, to whom H. attributes the abbreviation and the variant. III. Interpretation of Propertius, V 11, 15-20. The alternative introduced by *aut* has as its first member *det pater*, etc., not *non noxia*, as has been assumed. The interpretation of *posita urna* and *sortita pila* is suggested by *iudex, urna* being the urn for the voting pebbles of the judges, and *sortita* (pass.) *pila* referring to the casting of the votes (*pila* = *tabella*, cf. Asconius, Milo, 26). The whole line should therefore read: *is* (not *in*) *mea sortita vindicet ossa pila*.

78. Pp. 589-624. G. Thilo, à propos of Bauer's recent edition of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, examines the evidence of Modius and Heinsius for the readings of the *Coloniensis*, now lost, and seeks to reconstruct the *Sangallensis* (also lost) from the many (mostly indirect) copies of it. With regard to the latter he concludes that we may assume that we have its readings when (1) the four leading MSS LFVO agree, (2) when LF agree against VO, or LVO against F, (3) when F, which is the only direct copy of Sang., agrees with two, or even one, of the other three, whether in correct or false readings. The superiority of the *Coloniensis* can no longer be affirmed, so that between its readings and those of the *Sangallensis* decision must be made on the intrinsic value of the reading. Critical notes on a number of difficult passages.

(44.) Pp. 625-55. G. F. Unger. Conclusion of 44 above. V. The sources of the *Chronographer* of the year 354 A. D. (Teuffel, §413). The *Chronographer* seems to have made use of a list of magistrates like the *fasti Capitolini*, which, however, contained more *cognomina* and which took note also of more insignificant wars than the official *fasti*, and differed from them also in recording the names of the praetors and of special officials. For the period of anarchy, 379 to 383 A. U. C., the *Chronographer* gives the names of the aediles. The source used for the republican period came to an end with the year 705, not long after which it was probably written. This work was not the *annalis* of Atticus, but possibly may have been a *liber magistratuum* of L. Scribonius Libo. The last section (VI) is devoted to rescuing the *libri lintei* from the discredit into which they have fallen by the criticisms of Mommsen. The source of the official *fasti*, as well as of the *Chronographer*, is these *libri lintei*, which were for Livy and Dionysius the supreme authority with regard to past officers of the state. Suspicion of their trustworthiness is not only ill-founded, but there are positive grounds for belief in the genuineness of the citations of Macer from the *libri lintei*.

79. P. 656. J. Nicole gives a few corrections to the text of *Les Scolies Genevoises de l'Iliade*, etc., published by him, Paris, 1891.

80. P. 656. F. Polle, in *Diod. IV 3, 3*, places καθόλου either before or after αἰμονόμενος.

GEORGE L. HENDRICKSON.

HERMES, 1891.

III.

M. Wellmann, Sostratos, ein Beitrag zur Quellenanalyse des Aelian. This Sostratos was probably a physician of Alexandria who lived not very long after the battle of Actium, 32 B. C. His writings on toxicology W. traces in Aelian, the Scholia of Nicander, Athenaeus and elsewhere. Incidentally the kindred writers are discussed, and valuable details of the history of ancient medicine are given, e. g. on lithotomy, a notice of which in Celsus W. endeavors to trace to Sostratos. Hesychius too (*ἀμφίσβαινα, ἐλένιον, παρείαι ὄφεις*) has some glosses which may be traced to Sostratos. On pp. 346-9 eighteen references to Sostratos are given.

J. Vahlen, Zu Sophokles und Euripides Elektra. The matter under discussion is whether the play of Euripides or that of Sophocles antedates the other. Wilamowitz (Hermes, 1883) had claimed priority for Euripides. Ribbeck (Leipziger Studien, vol. 8, 1885), like Vahlen, claimed priority for the Sophoclean drama, but did not, as Vahlen says, mention the most important point.

Vahlen, in analyzing the arguments in the dispute between mother and daughter, disapproves of Wilamowitz's assumption of interpolations. The mere fact that the argument of Euripides' Clytaemnestra is supersubtle (*spitzfindig*) should not impugn the authenticity of the passage which W. considers to be interpolated, 1041 sq.:

εἰ δ' ἐκ δόμων ἤρπαστο Μενέλεως λάτρη,  
κτανεῖν μ' Ὀρέστην χρῆν, κασιγνήτης πόσειν  
Μενέλαον ὥς σώσαιμι; σὸς δὲ πῶς πατήρ  
ἠνέσχετ' ἂν ταῦτ' ;

Euripides, thus Vahlen reasons (p. 361), "had the discourse of Electra in Sophocles before his eyes, and with conscious intention put in the mouth of his own Clytaemnestra a defence, with which he intended to outdo the discourse of Sophocles' Clytaemnestra, which it was so very easy to refute. Cassandra, of whom Sophocles, as we saw, makes no use, Euripides has borrowed from Aeschylus, who makes (Agam. 1368, 1395 sqq.) Clytaemnestra advance this reason for the killing of Iphigenia beside the other. What we see, therefore, here in a single instance is valid elsewhere also—that Euripides, as the third one in the series of dramatists who have worked up this subject for the stage, has endeavored to utilize or outdo his two predecessors."

H. von Arnim, Entstehung u. Anordnung der Schriftensammlung Dios von Prusa. The order of the pieces in the collection of the works of Dion Chrysostomos was evidently not made by himself, and the poorer codices are poorer in this respect as in others. The sequence is of great importance for the understanding of Dion, and von Arnim has tried to bring the problem nearer to a solution. The examination of Philostratus does not yield results that are sufficiently definite, but Synesius is much more satisfactory, though a great deal remains to be done, and von Arnim promises further studies on this interesting and important author.

W. Soltan, Zur Chronologie der Hispanischen Feldzüge. S. takes up the chronological mistakes and inaccuracies in Livy and tries to show how Livy came to make them. One of the most striking instances of confusion is found

28, 16, 14, where L. really sums up the narrative of the military events of *two* years (p. 413). The great source of L.'s mistakes is to be sought in the use of a source which presents a different chronology from that which the historian ordinarily follows. Soltau's conclusion is that in the Spanish campaigns Livy did not make use of Polybius directly, but followed an author who blended sections from Polybius with statements of annalistic authors (p. 429), and S. even undertakes to identify this man, considering him to have been Claudius.<sup>1</sup> Soltau's idea of the manner in which Livy worked is given on pp. 436 and 437: "As in the 4th decade, so Livy here too (in the 3d) follows *one* author alone through larger sections, to which, generally in the transition to a new source, he adds some differing authorities. *There, as here, he chose different sources, in accordance with the change of the subject-matter which he treated.* He never followed Polybius, or the version of Polybius, in matters affecting the city of Rome; it is only in the sphere of Greek affairs that he had intended to copy Polybius. It is only when the other sources failed that he chose him as the main source in the African war too." The table on p. 439 is very instructive for students of Roman history.

Boissevain, Zonaras' Quelle für die römische Kaisergeschichte von Nerva bis Severus Alexander. B. endeavors to prove—1) that Zonaras does not contain anything that is not found in Xiphilinus; 2) that Zonaras does not contain anything that is contained in the Constantinian Excerpts, or in b. 78-79 of Dio, exclusive of what is also found in Xiphilinus; 3) that in those instances in which a Dionean passage is extant in the original draft as well as in the version of Xiphilinus, and there are discrepancies between the two, the phraseology of Zonaras agrees with Xiphilinus, not with Dio.

A. Höck, Der Odrysenkönig Hebrytelmis, prints a supplement of his recent paper on the kingdom of the Odrysai in Thrace in the V and IV centuries B. C., which supplement consists mainly of an inscription found on the acropolis, published by Lolling in the *Δελτίον ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1889, and reprinted in this number of *Hermes* (p. 454). The inscription dates from the archonship of Mystichides, 386-5 B. C., and praises Hebrytelmis for being an *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς περὶ τὸν δῆμον*, etc.

F. Burger, Stichometrisches zu Herodot. B. discovered in codex 1633 undoubted signs of line-counting. The character P (100) recurs at even distances, and gives the number of *στίχοι*, each, according to B.'s computation, containing about 28 letters, and thus corresponding to the short-line type (see A. J. P. IV 145).

#### IV.

Wellmann, Alexander von Myndos. Alexander of Myndos composed works on natural history which, in accordance with the current of classic taste, trenched much on mythology (Metamorphoses and the like) and on *παράδοξα*. He is mentioned both in Aelian and in Athenaeus. Hitherto scholars had believed that Aelian copied Athenaeus. Wellmann undertakes to show that both used Alexander of Myndos, and that Plutarch too, *De Sollertia animalium*, used this original. Notices of mantic and prophetic importance of birds were

<sup>1</sup> On Q. Claudius Quadrigarius as a source of Livy cf. Arn. Schaefer, *Quellenkunde*, p. 45.—E. G. S.



also to be found in the work of Alexander, whose time was probably about or somewhat after 50 A. D.

Geffcken, Zur Kenntniss Lykophrons. Lykophron's real purpose was to mystify the reader, and to this end he is fond of using words that have a two-fold meaning. So of Helen, v. 822, *φάσμα πτηνὸν εἰς αἶθραν φηγόν*, where one must not forget Aethra, the mother of Theseus, to whom the latter entrusted Helen. One of his tricks is the use of digressions. Writing as he did in the time of Euhemerus, he shows traces of this rationalizing influence in v. 508. In his treatment of Trojan legends he has made use of Stesichorus, calls Penelope, 771 sqq., a wanton who, by lavish banquets, robbed her unfortunate husband of his possessions, and strips the great figures of the classic legends of all nobility and elevation (p. 574). The concluding pages add to Wellmann's observations in regard to Lykophron's use of Hellanicus.

G. Kaibel, Zu Herodas. This paper was suggested by Kenyon's publication ('Classical Texts from Papyri in the British Museum, including the newly-discovered poems by Herodas,' 1891). Herodas wrote in Cos, and probably was a slightly younger contemporary of Theocritus. Two of these *μίμοι* (dramatic character sketches from common life) are reprinted.

E. Bethe, Proklos und der epische Cyclus. The abstract of Proklos is supposed to have preserved to us all that remains of ancient tradition on those epic poems which deal with the Trojan legends. This is substantially the view of Welcker, and as a corollary he maintained that the other poems were, all of them, later than Iliad and Odyssey, which they surrounded and encompassed as the central subject-matter; and this is the view that Bethe controverts in detail, encouraged by the publication of matter which may serve as parallel tradition, the *Epitome Vaticana* of Apollodorus' *Βιβλιοθήκη*, published by Wagner, and the Jerusalem fragment published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (Rh. Mus. XLVI 165). Before entering upon the work of making the comparison, Bethe urges that the *Κύπρια* (cf. Pausan. X 26, 1 and 4) dealt also with the last part of the Trojan war and with the destruction of Troy. Nor was the first part of the *Κύπρια* completely outlined by Proklos, as he mentions nothing of the birth of the Dioscuri and of Helen, which matter was narrated<sup>1</sup> in the poem (Athen. 8, 334 b). Similar criticisms are made on the *Διθυοπίς*; cf. Schol. on Pindar's Isthm. III 58. Comp. also Proklos' statement that Paris and Helen were carried out of their course to Sidon, with Herodotus, II 116, where we are told that Paris, according to the *Κύπρια*, came from Sparta to Troy in three days. On pp. 608 and sqq. Bethe begins the comparison of Proklos' abstract with that made of Wagner's *Epitome Vaticana* and the Papadopoulos fragment, and sums up his conclusion on p. 612, as follows: "Es ist unmöglich, dem zwingenden Schlusse zu entfliehen: Proklos hat das was er als Auszüge aus den cyclischen Epen giebt, abgeschrieben, zum Theil wörtlich abgeschrieben aus einem mythologischen Handbuche, das dem uns in Excerpten vorliegenden Apollodor so ähnlich war, wie ein Zwillingsbruder dem andern. Mithin ist das schon längst als Quelle des Proklos vermuthete mythologische Handbuch als das apollodorische nachgewiesen. Damit ist die Autorität des Proklos gestürzt."

E. G. SIHLER.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps by way of episode, as Robert properly conjectured. One need but think of the Iliad.

## BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. ANDREW PHILIP SKENE, an Aberdonian, now resident in Pornic, Loire-Inférieure, France, has published a little book entitled *Ante Agamemnona, a New Departure in Philology* (J. Vincent, Oxford, 1892). Mr. Skene, it is understood, has special claims on kindly consideration at the hands of American scholars. American rebels turned his ancestors neck and crop out of Skenesborough, which they held by royal grant, and an American investigator, Professor Garner, of simian fame, has failed to come to the help of Skene against the mighty. It is true that the editor of the American Journal of Philology cannot undertake to atone for the sins of all American revolutionists and American pithecolologists, but it would give him the greatest imaginable pleasure to present an analysis of Mr. Skene's results to the readers of the Journal, if what Mr. Skene evidently considers the most valuable part of his treatise or treatises did not lie outside the competence of a humble syntactician. Needless to say, those of the regular contributors to the Journal who would commonly be considered most competent to deal with so serious a subject as is the genesis of the Greek language could hardly be expected to welcome a revolutionary book with perfect openness of mind.

According to Mr. Skene, 'the strange monosyllable  $\iota\beta\delta$  preserved almost in Greek alone' 'lies at the bottom of Greek,' and this monosyllable, which 'must have meant *fluid* in general,' is further reinforced by ' $\lambda$  preceded by a vowel,' and the results of this discovery, which, we are informed, came to Mr. Skene June 8th, 1887, have been confirmed by the researches of Professor Garner in the language of the simians; though Professor Garner has failed to acknowledge that he has been anticipated by Mr. Skene.

Of more interest to the student of 'ethnic' grammar is the chapter in which Mr. Skene makes a formal assault on the inherency of the iterative character of  $-\sigma\kappa$ -verbs. Here he deserts speculation and appeals to statistics. In Homer and Hesiod, Mr. Skene tells us, there are about 341 occurrences of 'iteratives,' including  $-\phi\alpha\sigma\kappa$ -. Of these, 137 do not differ from a simple imperf. of habit, 156 deal with one continued act, in 176 cases the 'iterative' form is connected by a conjunction with a simple imperf., in 121 iteration is excluded by the context — 'in all, 590 reasons in 341 words, for denying all "iterative" force to these forms!' 'Against these figures we have to set only 150 cases in which iteration *may*—but by no means *must*—be predicated of the action.' In the Il. we have 161 occurrences, in the Od. 133 only, not counting  $-\phi\alpha\sigma\kappa$ -.; and not only does the Od. show fewer occurrences, but also fewer groups. There are 32 groups in the Il., 19 groups in the Odyssey. The groups may be a matter of some moment, but as to the number of occurrences, Mr. Skene has failed to notice that as the Il. is to the Od., roughly, as 16 to 12 (15,693 : 12,160), the Odyssey has really somewhat more than its proportion of  $-\sigma\kappa$ -forms. However, Mr. Skene is on safer ground here, for all the root-determinatives are in a bad

way, and one hears the mutterings of an analogical storm before which they seem doomed to go down, -σκ- and all.

Mr. Skene, it further appears, has received what he considers scant courtesy from the philological guild, and is not inclined to mince matters when he thinks that he has solid earth under him. So in his fourth chapter, "Elis to wit," he vents his scorn on the epigraphists in particular, who are so blind as not to see, for instance, what he considers the simple, self-evident solution of such a problem as is presented by the well-known Elean inscription (Roehl, IGA, Add. 113c, Cauer? 259). In this inscription a *θεαρός* is to be heavily mulcted, ΑΙΔΕΒΕΝΕΟΙΕΝΤΙΑΠΟΙ. BENEΟΙ, according to Mr. Skene, is *βε(ι)νέοι*, and the severe punishment is perfectly comprehensible. To be sure, *βε(ι)νέοι* is not a dignified word, and yet we read in Hesychius *βε(ε)νεῖν· παρὰ Σόλωνι τὸ βία μίγνυσθαι. τὸ δὲ κατὰ νόμον ὀπνεῖν*, which points unmistakably to legislative language. But a dialectological friend, who is conversant with such matters, has kindly pointed out that Mr. Skene's solution was reached in 1886 by Brand, *Hermes*, XXI 312, who compares *Hdt. II 64: τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖσι—οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες*. All this seems plain sailing, but, alas! dialectologists are a stiff-necked generation, and will not accept *ε* for *ει* in this inscription, and after all, despite Mr. Skene's merriment, Blass's ENEBEOI, *ἐνηβεῖν* being = *ἐνηβᾶν* (ap. Collitz, D. I. 1156), is not so hopeless as it might seem. Why might not *ἐνηβᾶν* be an accepted euphemism as well as *συνηβᾶν*? True, Maximus Tyrius insists (c. 24) on the Pickwickian sense of *συνηβᾶν*, but one does not care overmuch for the sophistries of Maximus Tyrius, who, by the way, figures in a recent edition of the Greek Lyric Poets as Maximus Tyrannus!

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In a recent number of the *Classical Review* (Feb. 1893) Mr. TYRRELL has paralleled the metre of Mr. GRANT ALLEN's translation of *Attis* (see A. J. P. XIII 518) with the familiar strain 'From Greenland's icy mountains, from India's coral strand.' The parallel is fatal, and I am ready to cry out

Iam iam dolet quod egi iam iamque paenitet.

To be sure, there will always be more or less quarrel about orgiastic effect, or in fact any other effect. Charles Wesley had no hesitation about the employment of the jiggish Priapean in a hymn, and others may agree with Mr. Tyrrell that Tennyson has done the best that could be done with the problem of reproducing in English the movement of the *Attis*. But for all that and all that, Tennyson's *Boadicea* is not Galliambic. The Laureate's lines are, as Mr. Allen says, 'fine and dashing and hurrying and eager,' but they are not Galliambic. The initial movement is trochaic, nor does the accumulation of short syllables at the close change the trochaic character of the verse; and for a recitative poem it is a matter of prime importance whether the initial movement is trochaic or iambic. 'The fierce volubility,' which, it seems, we are to pronounce 'volúbility,' like 'Cámulodune,' is the volubility of a *belli metuenda virago*. It is the volubility of an *ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ*, the volubility of a heroine. It does not reproduce the quivering accents of the *semivir*. The friends of Mr. Allen's version might add that it is hardly fairer to judge his attempt by

a single verse than it would be to judge the Attis by the verse I have just quoted, or to judge Tennyson's Boadicea by

Hear Icenian, Catieuchlanian, hear Coritanian, Trinobant.

But Heber's hymn is too suggestive. As to the application of the Galliambic verse to translations of modern poetry, tastes must necessarily diverge. 'The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold' and 'O mother Ida, many-fountained Ida' seem to the present writer as remote from the Galliambic atmosphere as 'Greenland's icy mountains' are from the 'Idae nemora,' which doubtless suggested to Mr. Tyrrell his remarkable version of Oenone. Mr. Tyrrell's 'antispastic' theories will hardly find favor with modern metricians, but, needless to say, his verse is always a delight.

I have almost taken a vow never to remark again on the divagations of commentators in the treatment of the Greek negatives. But *βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον*, or, as Theognis puts it (659):

οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρὴ τοῦθ' ὅτι μή ποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται.

Or did Theognis say that? *μή* has naturally given offence, and Ahrens, followed by Bergk in his last edition of the *Poetae Lyrici*, and by Hiller in his ed. of Bergk's *Anthologia Lyrica*, reads

οὐδ' ὁμόσαι χρὴ τοῦτ'· οὐ μή ποτε πρῆγμα τόδ' ἔσται,

though *οὐ μή* does not belong to this sphere. It is not epic, it is not elegiac; it has been thrust into lyric by modern conjectural critics, but it does not belong to lyric. It is essentially dramatic. But who has scruples of this sort? Hartung, as usual, has no fears, and believing firmly that *οὐ μή* with the fut. indic. 'never denies but only forbids,' restores the normal grammar and writes *τοῦτ' οὐ μή ποτε πρῆγμα γένηται*. But what will the uniformitarians do with

Soph. El. 1052 οὐ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαι ποτε?

with

O. C. 176 οὐ τοι μὴ ποτε . . . ἄξει?

Simply accept them? No. The latest suggestion is that 'the mistake might easily be on the part of the copyist; the aor. conj. would suit the metre.' One asks in amazement: What aor. conj., which aor. conj.?

Ohne Wahl vertheilt die Gaben,

Ohne Billigkeit das Glück.

The medley of half-digested and wholly undigested notions that Mr. EUSTACE HAMILTON MILES has put forth under the pretentious title *Comparative Syntax of Latin and Greek* (New York, Macmillan & Co.) appears unabashed before the philological world, clad in the sumptuous raiment of the Cambridge University Press, while Professor FRACCAROLI, of Messina, has been hoping and praying for a publisher these many years, and hoping and



praying in vain. He has now resorted to publication by subscription, and asks the help of students of Pindar. The subscription price of his *Odi di Pindaro dichiarate e tradotte* will be to subscribers 15 lire, postage not paid, to non-subscribers 20 lire. Address Professor Fraccaroli, Messina. Professor Fraccaroli is a determined Terpandrian, and will probably show little mercy to non-Terpandrians or anti-Terpandrians, but all students of Pindar—Bormann always excepted—will welcome his work, and it is to be hoped that the Sicilian scholar will be able to bring out before long his edition of *il poeta più ostico di tutta l'antichità*.

Shortly before his lamented death, JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS dedicated the third edition of his *Studies of the Greek Poets* (New York, Macmillan & Co.) to the friend to whom he dedicated them twenty years before. Thirty years had passed since he first set hand to these studies, and in order to understand them aright it is necessary to roll back the tide of a lifetime, to recall the epoch when the 'organic' conception of Greek poetry was not so hackneyed a theme as it is now, and when the fine enthusiasm, the opulence of style and the wealth of illustration attracted and held a generation that was not yet ashamed of its sap. A young Symonds of to-day is unthinkable, and, in fact, Symonds was too young for his own youth, and actually seems much younger than his close contemporary, Mr. Pater, who is decidedly more *fin de siècle* than Mr. Symonds. Mr. Pater's style has been pronounced to be a style of 'perfectly finished beauty, and full of exquisite restraint,' but old-fashioned readers will miss in him what Persius missed in the *décadents* of his time, the throb that runs through the 'lushness' of Mr. Symonds' fervid periods, the youthful sincerity with which one can never be angry. It is well, therefore, that Mr. Symonds was not tempted to spoil his book by recasting it, it is well that he did not rob these early studies of the charm of youthfulness by lessening the glow and toning down the color. Of course, it is harder, very much harder, for an oldster to read Mr. Symonds' *Studies* now than it was a generation ago. Neither the stream of time nor the reader has stood still, but whoever has to deal with Greek poetry will find his advantage in consulting the new edition. The original studies have been rearranged in chronological order, which for Greek is the organic order, a number of translations have been added, there is a new chapter on Herondas, and a prose rendering of the *mimiambi*, the famous one about the 'leathern conveniency,' and all. An occasional note shows that Mr. Symonds was no stranger to the course of recent study, but 'the substance of the book is unaltered,' and the author refused to weave himself over again. And who would have it otherwise? A wonderful amount of high and noble enjoyment did this invalid scholar snatch, day by day, for himself and for others, out of the jaws of death, and now that he is gone, suddenly at last, it may be said that few men have ever been more true to the motto which he put on his title-page and which he suffered neither his reader nor himself to forget:

Im Ganzen, Guten, Schönen  
Resolut zu leben.

A circular has been received from Professor Wülker, announcing that Veit & Co., of Leipzig, are ready to publish a phototypic facsimile of the Vercelli MS of Andreas and Elene (86 leaves), in case 100 copies are subscribed for by January 1, 1894. The price is put at \$5, which will be raised to \$7.50 after publication, and very few extra copies will be printed. It is further announced that the price of the facsimile of the Codex Farnesianus of Festus has been fixed at 42 marks. Address: "Le Secrétariat de l'Académie des Sciences de Hongrie, Budapest."

### CORRIGENDA.

Doleo quod Miscellaneorum graecorum altera series, quam scripsi (American Journal of Philology, Vol. XIII, No. 4), nonnullis erroribus turpatur; quos ut corrigat, lectorem benevolum rogo. Oportebat enim, ut scripta essent haec: Pag. 438, lin. 2 in *finem* sed potius in *principium* belli convenit. Pag. 438, lin. 11 *dictas* esse volunt. Pag. 440, lin. 27 in Euripidis *Hercule*. Pag. 441, lin. 24 *media* Peloponnesus. Pag. 441, lin. 35 Quaestionum homericarum p. 244 (deleto commate). Pag. 442, lin. 16 *hostia fit*. Pag. 446, lin. 10 se dant. Pag. 446, lin. 40 *der* beglaubigten.

FRIDERICUS HANSEN.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

### AMERICAN.

Aeschylus. *Choephoroi*; with an introd., commentary and translation by A. W. Verrall. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 8vo, cl., \$2.75.

Appleton (W. Hyde). *Greek Poets in English Verse*, by various translators; ed. with introd. and notes. Boston, *Houghton, Mifflin & Co.*, 1893. 46 + 360 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.50.

Cicero (M. T.) *Laelius sive de Amicitia*; with introd. and notes by St. George Stock. Pt. 1. Introduction and text. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 84 pp. 16mo, cl., 90 cts.

Demosthenes. *Oration of Demosthenes upon the Crown*; tr. into English, with notes, by Henry Lord Brougham. New York, *G. Routledge & Sons*, 1893. 2 + 254 pp. 12mo, cl., \$1.

Fowler (W. W.) *The City-State of the Greeks and the Romans*. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 28 + 332 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.10.

Herodotus. Books 5 and 6; ed. with notes and appendices by Evelyn Abbott. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 15 + 347 pp. maps, 8vo, cl., \$2.75.

Hickie (W. J.) *Lexicon of the Greek Testament*. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 16mo, cl., 75 cts.

Homer. *The Iliads of Homer*; tr. from the Greek by G. Chapman; il. from Flaxman's designs. New York, *G. P. Putnam's Sons*, 1893. 3 v., 16mo, cl., \$3.75.

Horace. *Satires and Epistles*; ed. on the basis of Kiessling's edition by Ja. H. Kirkland. Boston, *Leach, Shewell & Sanborn*, 1893. 23 + 399 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.20.

Lang (Andrew). *Homer and the Epic*. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1893. 11 + 424 pp. 8vo, cl., \$2.50.

Ohnefalsch-Richter (Max). *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*. In 2 vols. V. 1. Text; V. 2. Plates. New York, *B. Westermann & Co.*, 1893. 6 + 531 pp.; 7 + 43 pl. map, il. F. bds., net \$60.

Plutarch. *Life of Demosthenes*; with introd., notes and indexes; ed. by H. A. Holden. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 80 + 183 pp. 16mo, cl., \$1.25.

Riggs (Stephen R.) *A Dakota-English Dictionary*. Ed. by James Owen Dorsey. 4to, x + 665 pp. Washington, *Government Printing Office*.

Symonds (J. A.) *An Introduction to the Study of Dante*. 3d ed. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1893. 288 pp. 12mo, cl., \$2.50.

Thompson (E. M.) Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography. New York, *Appleton & Co.*, 1893. 12mo, cl., \$2.

Virgil's Aeneid, bks. 1-6; tr. into English by Ja. Rhoades. New York, *Longmans, Green & Co.*, 1893. 4 + 210 pp. 8vo, cl., \$1.75.

## ENGLISH.

Aeschylus. Oresteia. Trans. into English prose by Lewis Campbell. With an Introduction. Cr. 8vo, 170 pp. *Methuen*. 5s.

Cicero. Cato Major, De Senectute. Ed., with notes, by Leonard Huxley. Introduction, text and notes. New ed., revised. 12mo, 48 pp. *Clarendon Press*. 2s.

— De Amicitia. Introduction, text and notes by St. George Stock. 12mo, 150 pp. *Clarendon Press*. 3s.

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Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina. Pars prior. Collegit, digessit, recensuit A. Vasiliev. Mosquae, MDCCCXCIII.

Aristophanis Vespae. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis ed. J. Van Leeuwen, J. F. Lugduni-Batavorum, *apud E. J. Brill*, 1893.

ΑΘΗΝΑ, σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπιστημονικῆς ἐταιρείας. Τόμος πέμπτος. Τεύχος πρῶτον. Ἀθήνησιν, 1893.

Bowen (Edwin W.) An Historical Study of the *ε*-vowel in Accented Syllables in English. J. H. U. Diss. Baltimore, *John Murphy & Co.*, 1893.

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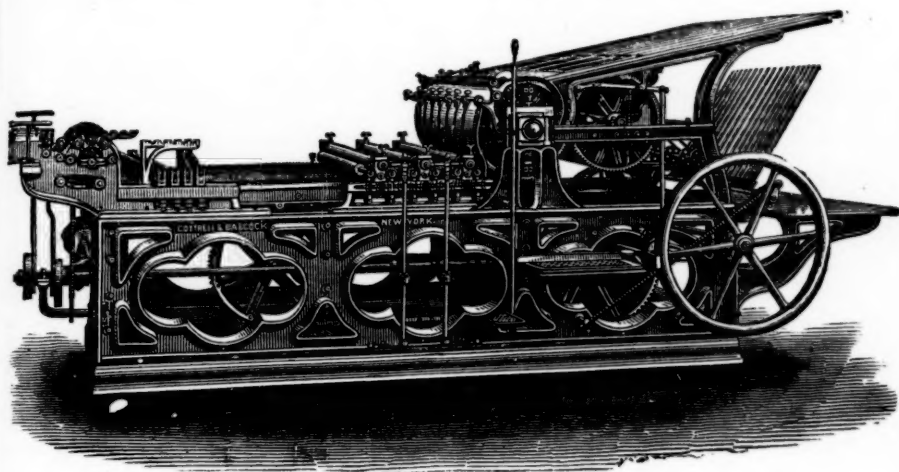
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